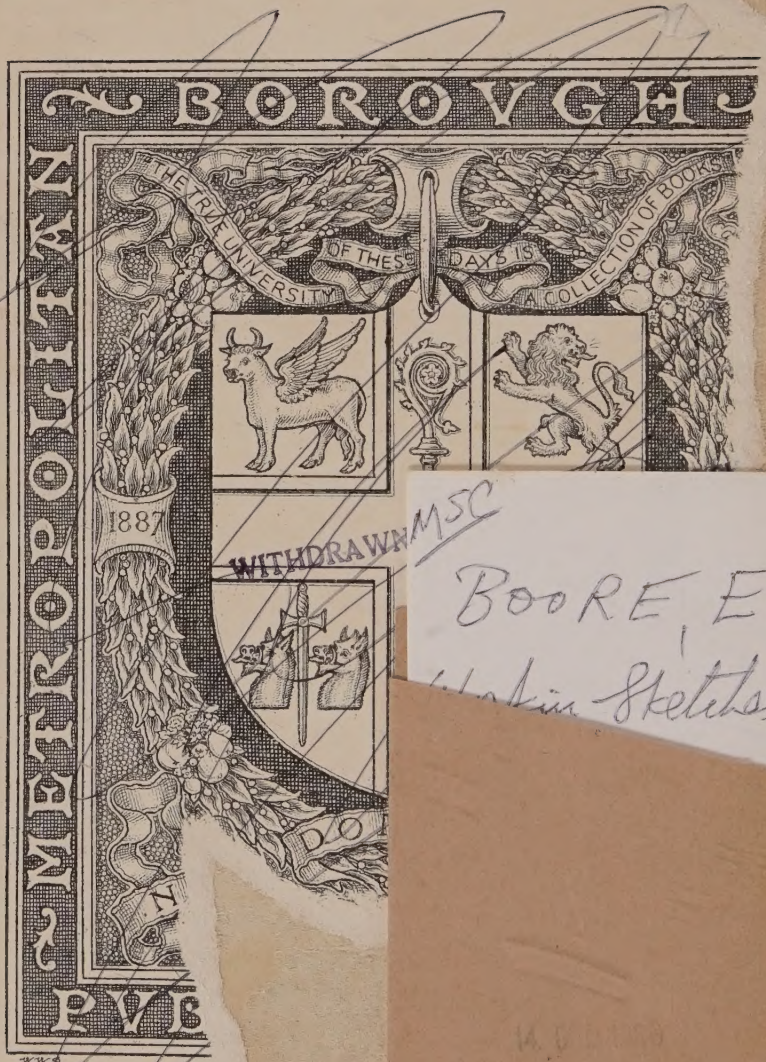
WREKIN SKETCHES

EMMA BOORE



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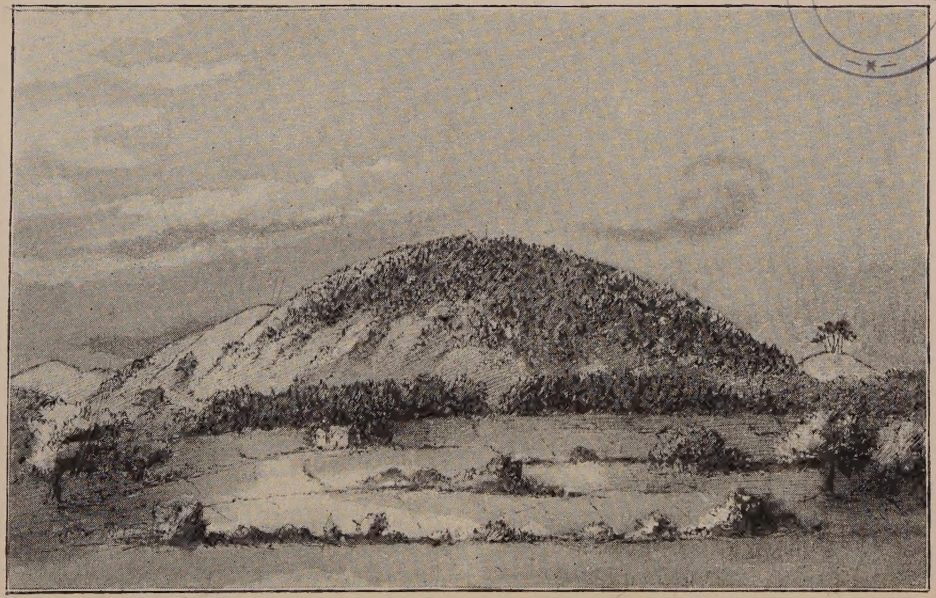

THE WREKIN FROM UPPINGTON.

WREKIN SKETCHES.

BY

EMMA BOORE.

'So flits the world's uncertain span!
Nor zeal for God, nor love for man,
Gives mortal monument a date
Beyond the power of Time and Fate.
The towers must share the builder's doom;
Ruin is theirs, and his a tomb.'

LONDON:
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.
1897.

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PREFACE.

It was when taking a last look at the old church at Uppington, before it was restored in 1885, that I first thought of committing to paper all that I know about the ancient village. I wrote without any idea of publishing my story, my sole idea being to leave behind me in simple manuscript some account of those bygone days, of which I had heard so much, and in which I had always been greatly interested.

In searching for accounts of incidents among the few authentic documents within my reach, I was led to extend my researches to the history of the neighbourhood, and it will be seen that the strip of beautiful landscape stretching from the Wrekin to Shrewsbury teems with memories of interesting and touching events.

I became intensely interested in the study of local names and their origin.

The tenacity with which names cling to lands and to families for so many generations and through all the perpetual changes of time and circumstances is marvellous; beyond this, I myself have no interest in pedigrees.

My short sketches of the monasteries and religious houses in the neighbourhood, and of the lives of those who dwelt in them, may interest those who have neither time nor oppor-

tunities for studying more extensive details found in the works of more able writers.

I have found much pleasure myself in tracing out those links which connect this small corner of Old Salopia with the great events of the past, and if some few others should be interested in reading my 'Sketches and Stories' I shall be more than repaid.

April, 1897.

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CHAPTER I.

WREKIN SCENERY.

Grey stones and heaped-up earth shall mark me to future times. . . .
It sends my soul back to the ages of old, to the days of other years.'
OSSIAN.

IN these days of easy locomotion, travelling has a great attraction for all classes of people, and it may be that we Britons have inherited from our ancient forefathers their roving disposition and that love of adventure for which so many of them were distinguished.

We have been called a nation of vagabonds, and it is true that we are ever on the move, spending our time and our money, seeking change of life and of scene in foreign countries, indifferent to or unconscious of the beauties and attractions of our native land.

'Oftentimes,' says Trench ('Study of Words'), 'we pass over fields of fame or through cities of ancient renown with a vacant eye and a careless mind, unmoved because utterly unaware of the lofty deeds which have been wrought, and of the great hearts which spent themselves there. Wanting the knowledge and insight which would have served to kindle admiration, we are deprived of the pure and elevating instinct and excitement of the mind, and miss that manifold instruction which lies about our path.'

During the Roman, Saxon, and Danish epochs, Shropshire was the scene of many great events. Here the last great battle for British independence was fought by Caractacus against the Romans. Edwin and Morcar, the unfortunate brother Earls of Mercia, were connected with this county. Here the greatest of the Conqueror's Norman barons became great landowners. Gerard de Tornai, Earl Godwin, and Roger Montgomerie were dwellers 'round the Wrekin.' Here was the home of Earl Godwin's children, Harold, and Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor. Most of the early Norman kings held their court at Shrewsbury and Bridgenorth, and there was a royal castle at Stretton, the moat and foundations of which can still be traced.

Modern farming has swept away the old winding green lanes as if they were among the crooked places that should be made straight; turnips and grain flourish where once was a moated ruin or the more ancient barrows, those sepulchres of our early forefathers, of whose lives we have no history—'dont l'ancienneté est perdu dans la nuit des temps.' But every ancient village—and nearly every village *is* ancient—has its legends and its old stories. It is true that the old story-tellers, to whom the Domesday pronunciation of their native places had descended, are disappearing. None are left who could tell where the ghost was seen, where the stocks and the gibbet-post stood, and how the wake was kept up at the festival of the church for a whole week, when rich and poor mingled and made merry together. The cross-roads, where once the sacred emblem was raised, are fast disappearing. The old wayside inns are few and far between. Many of these changes are good, no doubt, and that change of scene is, in moderation, good for us cannot be denied;

doctors recommend it, railway facilities are tempting, and our beloved Queen sets us the example.

Still, it is much to be regretted when our love of roving destroys our interest in the beauties and attractions which abound in every part of England, not the least among which are the memorials and relics of bygone times.

There is not in the wide world a scene more lovely than that which may be viewed from the top of the Wrekin,* whence fifteen counties can be seen. It is a splendid panorama, extending on all sides to the horizon. That part of the glorious landscape which lies to the west is varied with all the eye delights to dwell upon and the mind to contemplate. Here Nature and civilization mingle in rare perfection—rich land highly cultivated, over which are scattered stately oaks and graceful elms; here and there glimpses of the Severn, winding its way among the widespread woods on its banks. 'The stately homes of England' are mingled with the ruined castles and abbeys of the olden times, and the towers of village churches are seen beside them in their tranquil beauty. A long mountain range stretches in an unbroken line from the Stretton hills, of which the Caradoc and the Lawley are the most picturesque, to the heights of Snowdon. The inhabitants of this county are called 'proud Salopians'; how they acquired this distinction we are not told, but of their scenery they may be justly proud.

In a book published in 1745, 'A Short Way to Know the World,' it is said that James II. considered Shropshire the finest county in his kingdom—'of good soil, beautiful air,

* Wrekin, from British word *brekken*, wood or forest. Uriconium is the Latinized form of the same word.

and set full of fair towns.' He, like many of the early kings, frequently kept Court at Shrewsbury.

The Wrekin is of an oval form, pointing nearly east and west, and seems to rise up alone upon the plain 2,200 feet above the Severn. (This river runs through the county in a circuitous course of from fifty to sixty miles. It takes its source from Plinlimmon, Montgomeryshire and enters the Bristol Channel.) It has the appearance of a huge whale in repose. The west end of the mountain is very precipitous; the east end is easy to ascend, even on horseback. Looking at the Wrekin from the south-west, it seems to rise like a sugar-loaf, and is very picturesque.

Leland, librarian to Henry VIII., who was sent by him to make search of England's antiquities and to peruse the libraries of all cathedrals, abbeys, colleges, etc., where records and secrets were kept, gives a quaint and interesting account of the mountain.

'The Wrekin,' he says, 'of some called Mount Gilbert, is the highest of all the ground of all the country thereabout, and standeth as a Pharos, barren of wood. There is on the toppe of the hill a delicate plain ground, bearing fine, good grasse, and on the plaine a fayre fountaine.'

'Fine grasse' still grows 'on the toppe,' but there is no 'fayre fountaine.' A maypole stood formerly on the highest spot, on the 'plaine ground,' but that has long since disappeared.

The forests and woodlands round the Wrekin extended many miles in different directions. They were gradually cleared in the early part of the fourteenth century. Uriconium, 'the white town on the skirt of the wood,' is referred to by Llywarch Hên.

The Haye of Welinton (Heygate) extended to Watling Street. An ancestor of Lord Forester held the hereditary post of forester, and derived his name from his office.

The term 'forest' did not apply merely to an extensive wood, but to any territory subject to 'jurisdiction,' having sometimes for its object the preservation of game or the maintenance of woodland. The royal Forest of Brewood existed then in Shropshire, also Bishop's Wood. These extended to Albrighton and Chillington.

Eastward and westward of the Severn were primæval forests. The river did not then wind as it now does through cultivated valleys, and in many parts navigation would be difficult from obstruction caused by the falling of huge trees.

Morf Forest was on the east of the Severn. The Danes in the time of Alfred sought refuge here in the winter, and endeavoured to construct a fleet to enable them to return to their own country. This failing, the Vikings made their way westward over the Severn. Danesford indicates the spot where they crossed the river.

Shipley took its name from its being a great sheep-pasture. Oaks extending over a space of one furlong in length and breadth are mentioned in Domesday.

A monk named Blethesus is mentioned as dwelling in 1170 in the Forest of Botwood (Lee-botwood). The monks of Haghmond changed his hermitage into an oratory or chapel.

The Long Forest included all that part of the county between Wenlock Edge and the Longmynd and Lyth Hill, a distance of fifteen miles. This part was cleared very slowly; the land being hilly, it was not of much value for agriculture,

but later a vast number of sheep were kept on these hills. The greater part of this forest was cleared in the reign of Edward I.

The Forest of Shirlot, near Wenlock, on the west side of the river, near Morville and Chelton, was about twelve miles long and five wide. Here the Saxon kings are said to have dispensed a rude but unbounded hospitality.

Clee Forest is now in the parish of Chelton. In Saxon times it belonged to the Manor of Ditton. At the Conquest this parish became a palatine, and afterwards one of the royal forests.

Wyre Forest extended to Bewdley and Wyrecæster, a Roman station, from which the name Worcester is derived.

Clun Forest was a great sheepwalk—about 12,000 acres, a fine extent of smooth turf, with every variety of swelling banks and retired nooks.

The Saxon Chronicle tells us that 'at Oldbury, which is to the south of Bridgenorth, is an ancient earthwork, called the Old Castle'; this relic of British times existed before Bridgenorth, and here was a wood to fatten one hundred swine.

These were the forests and woods which immediately surrounded the Wrekin, until the fourteenth century. They have now entirely disappeared, but the Wrekin itself is no longer 'barren of wood,' as described by Leland. It was planted in the early part of this century. Until that time a great number of sheep were reared upon the hill, and the Shropshire people were great wool-merchants.

Nothing could surpass the beauty of the shaded walks when the trees had grown up. A broad road, which was covered with a soft greensward, was left bare along the whole

length at the top; and the trees as they grew were kept lopped at intervals, in order that the lovely views should not be obstructed. At the eastern end there were two very pretty cottages. During the summer months it was a favourite resort for picnics; there was a large room in the upper cottage where neighbouring families, who sent their own refreshments, invited their friends to meet them at a hospitable tea, after their rambles on the hill. Railway excursionists have now changed all that, and the pretty cottage has become a kind of restaurant.

The masque of 'Comus,' written by Milton at Ludlow Castle, commemorates an incident which occurred in Heywood Forest, Herefordshire. At this time the Earl of Bridgewater lived at Ludlow Castle. His two sons, with Lord Brockley, Mr. Egerton, and Lady Alice Egerton, were benighted in the forest, Lady Alice being for a time lost. On their arrival at the castle, Milton, who was staying there, wrote the masque, and Mr. Henry Lawes, who gave music-lessons to the Earl's daughters, composed the music; and it was acted in the castle on Michaelmas night, the two brothers, Lawes, and Lady Alice, taking parts in it.

William the Conqueror made great deer-chases, and enacted laws that 'whoso slew hart or hind should be blinded. So much he loved the high game, just as if he were their father. Also he appointed, concerning the hares, that they should go free.' It is further added that 'he ruled over England with such craftiness, and so looked it through, that there was not one hide within it that he learnt not who had it or what it was worth, and then he set it in his written book; and he took from his men many a merk of gold, and more hundred pounds of silver. This

he took by right and unright of his people, and for little need.' Henry I. cut down woods and sold land at 1s. per acre. The following document gives an idea of the customs with regard to game and forest regulations in the year 1283:

12 Edward I., December 15.

Acton Burnell.

Secure for Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Chancellor, and his heirs, to make a deer-leap in his park at Acton Burnell, within the bounds of the forests of Salop, and to take deer of any kind, which enter in by the said deer-leap.*

Several lakes add to the beauty of Shropshire scenery. One called Beaumere, a few miles from Shrewsbury, is a small but beautiful sheet of water. West of the Severn is Marton Lake, which is about forty acres. At Shrawardine there is one about the same size. Near Whitchurch are two meres; Ellesmere, which is the largest, is 116 acres. A little to the north are three others: Fennymere, Ancot, and Llynchyspool.

* Patent Rolls, 12 Edward I., membrane 20, Record Office.

CHAPTER II.

*MONASTERIES.**

'Antiquities give posterity a view of Time and Fortune.'

Of the four monasteries round the Wrekin, *Wenlock* is the oldest. It was founded by St. Milburg, daughter of Merewald (who founded Leominster Priory), niece of Wolfhere, King of Mercia, and grand-daughter of Penda, pagan King of Mercia. It was destroyed by the Danes, and rebuilt 180 years after by Leofric, King of Mercia. About 1080 Earl Roger Montgomerie restored and remodelled it. The remains of St. Milburg having been found, they were brought to Wenlock, and placed in their final resting-place in front of the high altar. May 26 being the date on which her remains were found, that day was named St. Milburg's or St. Mildred's Day, and was observed with great reverence. Miraculous cures are said to have been made by the dust from her bones. Wenlock was Benedictine, and an affiliation of Cluny.

Walter Fitzalan, Steward of Scotland, 1163, wishing to found a Cluniac priory at Paisley, came to Wenlock. Thirteen monks returned with him to Scotland, and organized the priory at Paisley. This was an affiliation of

* See Note 1, 'Monasteries, Abbots,' etc.

Wenlock, as was also Dudley Priory. Little Wenlock was dedicated to St. Milburg.

Buildwas, a Cistercian house, was founded by Roger de Cludon, Bishop of Chester, 1135. He joined the Crusades and died at Antioch. King Stephen, 1139, gave and confirmed to God and the church of St. Ceadde, and to the abbots and monks, their estate, as Roger, Bishop of Chester, had given it, and granted them immunities and divers stones of great value. Walter de Dunstanville and Robert Corbett were benefactors. It was valued at £259 13s. 7d. Hugh, Bishop of Coventry, gave the monks of Buildwas an inn for their reception when they came thither.

Haghmond, an Augustinian monastery, was founded 1100 by William Fitzalan. In 1332 Nicolas, Abbot, allotted certain revenues for the maintenance of the kitchen, and twenty hogs yearly for bacon. Pope Boniface IX. granted indulgences to those who should visit this church yearly, on certain days, they 'being truly penitent and confest.'

Lilleshall, also an Augustinian house, was founded 1154 by William Fitzalan, from the prebendal estate of St. Alcmond's, Shrewsbury. The charter of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, is among the muniments of the Duke of Sutherland at Trentham. There is said to have been an earlier foundation here by Ethelfleda, Queen of Mercia, and dedicated to St. Alcmond, afterwards much amplified by King Edgar, and endowed with ten prebends.

Dugdale, speaking of the monks of Lilleshall, says: 'By reason of their situation on the highway called Watling Street, they are impoverished by the continuous conflux of guests and travellers, who eat up their provisions.'

Besides these four monasteries round the Wrekin, we have Battlefield, near Shrewsbury, where Henry IV. defeated Percy and the rebel army. The battle, which was doubtless watched by many eager eyes from the Wrekin, was fought on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene, July 22, 1403.

An ill feeling had arisen between King Henry IV. and the Earl of Northumberland, who, it is said, was not satisfied with the return the King had made to him for the great part he had taken in placing him upon the throne, and Henry had become jealous of the Earl's power. Northumberland therefore liberated Earl Douglas, whom he had taken prisoner in battle against the Scots, and made an alliance with him. He also entered into a treaty with Glendower, a celebrated Welsh Prince, and was about to lead his partisans to arms; but being taken suddenly ill at Berwick, his son, Percy Hotspur, took the command of the troops, and marched to Shrewsbury before Glendower had time to join him. Percy fell in the fierce battle, and 2,300 knights and 26,000 men were slain.

Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, was taken prisoner, and beheaded at Shrewsbury, at the High Cross, the Monday following the battle. He was taken in flight on Haghmon Hill. Prince Henry, the future hero of Agincourt, fought bravely at the side of his father for the crown, which was more than once near being lost. He was wounded in the face, and the King had a horse killed under him. The royal standard had been three times cast down and raised when Hotspur fell. Several brave soldiers, habited like the King, had loyally fought and perished, some of them, it is said, by the hand of Douglas. The King forgave Northumberland in consideration of former

obligations, and believing he had been sufficiently punished in the deaths of his son and younger brother. After the battle Prince Henry sat at Shrewsbury to grant pardon in the name of the King to all that came to ask for it. The prisoners of distinction taken in flight were, however, executed.

Local tradition says that the Queen watched the battle from the hill close by, and that on hearing the shouts of victory she turned her horse, and said, 'Amen, the battle is won.' This hill was afterwards called Amen Hill, corrupted into Haghmon, and now Haughmond.

Henry IV. built and endowed a collegiate church upon the spot where the victory was won, and gave this place the name of Battlefield. The church was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene. Roger Ive, Rector of Albright Husee, gave to this collegiate church, by his will, dated October 30, 1444 (Henry VI.), 'three chalices, silver and gilt, one Paxbrede, silver gilt, two Phials, silver, three Bells in the steeple, three Crosses, gilt, with several vestments and books for Church Services, and divers household goods, and increased the stipends of the five chaplains from eight to ten marks per an., conditionally that they pray in a more special manner for the souls of King Henry IV., King Henry V., founders, for Richard Husee, and the souls of the faithful slain in battle.'

A letter written by Prince Henry, in his father's absence, tells of his expedition into Wales against Glendower. It concludes with the words:

Given under our Seal,
At Shrewsbury,
18th day of May, 1401.

This letter, written in French, is preserved in the Cottonian Museum.

From 1401 the youthful Prince was engaged in warfare. He was born at Monmouth, August, 1387. His glorious career was ended in 1422 through the unskilful treatment of his doctors. He left an infant son, Henry VI., but before he reached manhood the French, under Joan of Arc, had won back all his father's conquests in that country.

The following is a description of Prince Henry, given by a Benedictine monk:

'His hair was brown and straight, forehead spherical, nose Grecian, face oblong, complexion florid, eyes large, bright and hazel—sweet as the dove's when tranquil, when excited flashing like the lion's—dimpled chin, cheeks mingling the rose and the lily. Whole frame well built and held together.'

He was a kind and indulgent master and a generous friend, but very impulsive. An exemplification of these special characteristics is found in the well-known story of his striking Judge Gascoigne when he refused to release one of the Prince's favourite servants who had been brought before him for forging money.

Our mountains are the only unchanged objects in the landscape; in their silent majesty and in their ancient traditions they speak to us of the past. During long ages they must have had the same attractions, and from their heights our forefathers must have gazed on many a scene of carnage and destruction which history has not recorded. They themselves have been the silent witnesses of all that has been enacted around them—all that for

good or evil man's devices have sought out and performed. In the olden times hermits dwelt on the Wrekin. An account is given of one named Nicolas Denton, Heremite of Mount Gilbert, who lived there in the reign of Henry III., 1216-1272. 'King Henry granted this Heremite six quarters of corn out of Pendleton Mill to give him leisure for holy exercise as long as he lived.' Hermits lived excluded and austere lives; their food was such as they found in the wilderness—herbs, vegetables and fruit. They spent their time in prayer, reading and meditation. We are not told that they took irrevocable vows when they excluded themselves from the world. After having found consolation, or perhaps weariness, in retirement, some of them probably returned to the outer life. Goldsmith tells us of a 'long-lost Edward dear' who, driven from the world by the cruelty of his Angelina, had become a hermit—

> 'While his passion touched her heart,
> She triumphed in his pain.'

But, like many another cruel maiden, Angelina repented, and sought her lover in disguise

> 'Through wilds immeasurably spread,'

where, meeting with a 'gentle hermit,' she confessed her sin and her repentance. He, discovering in her his cruel Angelina,

> 'clasp'd her to his breast.
> The wondering fair one turned to chide:
> 'Twas Edward's self that prest.'

And they lived happily together ever after on the banks of the Tyne, where dwelt her noble father.

As early as the second century societies were formed for

the purpose of living together under discipline and religious rule. Some of them, finding this life too distracting, withdrew, secluding themselves entirely, living in the most inaccessible solitude. Wanderers sometimes left their solitude to go on missions to their fellow-men. At a later time itinerant monks travelled about, taking an ass to carry their books for service. Warriors and huntsmen sometimes lived in caves on mountains and in forests, but their habits and lives differed much from those of the hermits. The story of 'Ronan's Cave,' told by Ossian, describes their manner of life:

'One day, when tired of the chase, and mist had concealed their friends, Comal and the daughter of Conloch met in the cave of Ronan. It was the wonted haunt of Comal. Its sides were hung with his arms. A hundred shields were there, a hundred helms of shining steel.

'"Rest here," he said, "my love! Galbina, thou light of the cave of Ronan! A deer appears on Mora's brow. I go, but will soon return."

'"I fear," she said, "dark Grumal, my foe. He haunts the cave of Ronan."

'"I will soon come back, my love."

'In his absence, to try his love, she clothed herself in his armour, and strode forth from the cave to meet him. He thought it was his foe. He drew his bow. The arrow flew. Galbina fell in blood. He ran with wildness in his steps, calling the daughter of Conloch, but no answer came. And then he discovered that the fatal arrow had killed her: he sunk upon her breast. "Oh, Conloch's daughter! is it thou?"

'The hunters found the hapless pair. He afterwards

walked the mountain ; but weary and silent were his steps round the dark dwelling of his love. He fought, but who could kill the mighty Comal ? Then he threw away his shield. An arrow pierced his heart.'

These caves were used sometimes for rendezvous, sometimes for concealment ; but their inhabitants had none of the hermit's pity for 'the flocks that ranged the mountain's side.'

It is from these simple stories that we learn much about the habits and lives of our forefathers.

CHAPTER III.

ANCIENT BRITAIN.

How manie great ones may remembered be,
Which in their daies most famouslie did florish,
Of whom no word we heare nor signe now see
But as things wipt out with a sponge to perish.'

SPENSER: *Ruins of Time.*

THERE are many traditions relating to the roads which traverse the vale beneath the Wrekin. Paved roads were first made by the Romans, and were objects of wonder to the Britons. The road from Craven Arms to Bishop's Castle is said to have been the first paved road made in Britain, 'very long ago, to cross the sea.'

Watling Street,* which runs along the vale parallel with the Wrekin, part of which still gives its name to a street in London, near St. Paul's, is said to have been made by a British King, named Watla, who gave it his own name. The present road, however, was made by the Romans, and might have taken its name from being fenced on either side by stakes interwoven with smaller wood. These fences were called 'wattling,' and are still in use. On our coasts such fences are frequently used as breakwaters. But if the Britons knew not the art of paving until they learnt it from the Romans, they used chariots, and must have had roads.

* Street=*stratum*; hence Stretton.

Good well-made roads were not general in England until the present century.* We might therefore infer from this fact that, except in the construction of the great high-roads, the British method was more usually followed than that of the Romans. In the present day, those who drive in Cornwall will know that if it is needful to leave the main roads, which are the best in England, being paved with granite, anything but walking, or riding a safe horse, is dangerous. It has been the custom of many historians to represent the Britons, when they were conquered by the Romans, as little better than barbarians; but accounts gathered from the ancient records of the Tyrian mariners, who visited our shores long ages before that time, give us a very different impression.

One of our local historians† says that 'many years before the Roman invasion Britain was noted for the fertility of her soil, the industry of her population, and bore the character of an agricultural community. And the invigorating climate is said to have always been favourable to the inventive faculties. The natives were probably in many respects less advanced than their conquerors; but they had cultivated their natural talents, and were, no doubt, as civilized in their peaceful isolation with the learned Druid priests who instructed them as were other Europeans of this time. The fact that they were skilled in war is proved by their having brought great forces into action when they drove back the invaders from our shores, and Queen Boadicea raised enormous armies to meet in battle the foes who had succeeded in landing.

* See Sir W. Pulteney's 'Visit to Uppington,' 1784.
† Botfield.

That the Britons wore no clothes, and painted their bodies, may be considered a fable, as is proved by both Diodorus and Strabo.

The richest garments worn at the Court of Rome were of British manufacture, and Queen Boadicea led her armies to battle in a tunic of many colours, on her head a golden wreath. A considerable quantity of gold must have been found in the island, for the ancient bards speak frequently of the golden wreath. There are some very fine specimens of ancient British jewels, of pure gold, in the British Museum. The beautiful blue colour which the natives extracted from a plant called woad was probably carried by the Tyrian mariners to their own country, and used in their manufactures.

The process of extracting this beautiful colour from the plant would in these early times be without the aid of machinery. The hand would be the chief instrument employed, and it is more probable that in the work they accidentally stained themselves than that they should waste this valuable production, which could only be obtained by great skill and labour, to adorn their person. The skill of British sailors in tattooing, is, however, believed to have descended to them from these times. Both facts and traditions relating to the early inhabitants of Britain justify a belief in a much more advanced state of civilization than is generally understood to have existed. All the early invaders of our country were guided to the interior of the island by the courses of the great rivers, Nature's highways.

The maritime position of Phœnicia, which was a narrow strip of land on the Mediterranean, extending from Arodus, on the Eleutherus, to Tyre, on the Leontes, and its great

abundance of wood, led the inhabitants to fishing and ship-building. Thus they became a seafaring people, and founded colonies in distant parts of the world. In the time of their great depression by the Israelites, many of them fled to these distant colonies. A marble pillar is said to have been found on the coast of Africa, bearing this inscription :

'We are they that fled from the robber Joshua.'

We are now told* that the Phœnicians, to whom we look back as the parents of letters, commerce and civilization, were really Canaanites; that they were one and the same people. Tradition says that some of them, who had fled to Africa, returned to plead their cause before Alexander when he arrived in Palestine, and to seek redress for their persecutions under the Israelites.

The great struggle of the Canaanites with the Israelites, the invaders of their native land, was natural. Many who remained became tributary or bondsmen. When King Solomon made a navy, Hiram, King of Tyre, 'sent in the navy *his* servants, shipmen *that had knowledge of the sea*, with the servants of Solomon.' 'And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to King Solomon.'† This would be long after they had fetched 'tin' from Britain.

It cannot be supposed that these intelligent and enterprising Tyrian mariners, after their long and perilous voyages, would rest satisfied with merely trading on the coast of Cornwall, and not explore the interior of the island. Let those who travel abroad in search of beautiful scenery sail up the Bristol Channel as far as Chepstow or Gloucester;

* Dean Stanley, Kenrick's 'Phœnicia.'

† 1 Kings ix. 20, 21, and 26, 27.

ascend the mountains of South Wales, and look over that great expanse of water which stretches away to the ocean and to the Somersetshire coast.

Rhineland, with its ancient castles, is lovely and interesting, in spite of its stiffly-cultivated vineyards; but it cannot be compared with such scenery as this. In the time of the Phœnicians, though the scenery would, in its wilder state, be very different from that which we now see, there would be attractions more than sufficient to induce them to ascend the river Severn, even to its source in Plinlimmon, and to encourage them to overcome any difficulties and impediments they might encounter. Skill in the art of shipbuilding, love of enterprise, and the gift of forming colonies in distant lands, have, no doubt, descended to us from these ancient people, whose connection with our country makes everything relating to them a subject of interest.

There is a tradition in Cornwall which says that a Phœnician Princess, named Zenobia,* having heard so much of the great beauty of Britain and of the marvellous salubrity of the climate, determined that she would undertake a voyage to our country, and was so delighted with it that, having had a tedious and perilous voyage, she never returned to Phœnicia, but lived here happily to the end of her days. The name Zenobia is still a favourite one in Cornwall, and is only one among many instances of the tenacity of local names and traditions. If a Princess chose to spend her life in Britain, great numbers would, no doubt, follow her example.

Cornwall, which is still one of the most picturesque and

* The name, also, of a city between Damascus and Babylon.

interesting counties in England, was probably at this time the most cultivated, and therefore a suitable abode for a Princess. In this county are the most perfect remains of an ancient village, named Chysanter, which is believed to have been constructed after the manner of the Phœnicians. Such remains have been discovered in other parts of England, also many barrows or burying-places, to which no date can be given.

For long ages it is believed no other strangers visited our shores. The Phœnicians kept their discoveries a secret, and no doubt lived in simplicity, peace and prosperity. The earliest accounts we have of our country are those relating to our commerce with the Phœnicians. There are ancient traditions, found in old manuscripts, which tell us that they traded here in the time of Moses.

Ezekiel xxvii. is considered to be a description of Tyre, and the ships of Tarshish (ver. 12) to allude to this commerce. 'Bright iron' (ver. 19), was probably not the only attraction to our shores; our traders were also 'occupied in lambs and rams and goats.' Herodotus, B.C. 450, alludes to this commerce in the 'Tin Islands.'

Sidon, now Saida, was distinguished for the manufacture of glass. Tyre was a colony of Sidon, celebrated for its skilful workmen and for its purple, which might have been a modification of the British woad. Hiram, King of Tyre, was the attached friend of King David, and lived to see the young Solomon become King. At his request Hiram sent artisans to assist in building the Temple at Jerusalem (1 Kings v. 1).

We find (1 Kings ix. 11-13) that after he had thus assisted Solomon, and also by furnishing him with wood,

gold,* etc., 'according to all his desires,' the King of Israel did not please his generous friend in the gifts he made to him in return, and King Hiram expressed his contempt for them by calling them Cabul (dirty).

The power of the Phœnicians, that is, of Tyre and Sidon, passed away when the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel were fulfilled (Isa. xxiii. 15, Ezek. xxvi., xxviii.). Moses speaks of Sidon as the first-born son of Canaan. Ethbaal, King of Tyre and Sidon, was father of Jezebel, who became the wife of Ahab (1 Kings xvi. 31), B.C. 900.

An object of great interest to travellers in the East is King Hiram's tomb. It stands about three miles inland from Tyre—a simple gray sarcophagus, hollowed out sufficiently to hold a body, raised high on three huge pillars of rock. A large stone completely covers it, the only aperture being a hole knocked through its eastern end.

There is another monument which indicates in a very remarkable manner our intercourse and early connection with the Phœnicians.† This is of unknown age, and consists of a circle of upright stones, as at Stonehenge (and, like them, has no authentic history), which rise among the bushes near the shore, north of the mouth of the Khâsimîyeh, or Litâny, near Adlîm. The guides say these were people who were turned into stone for scoffing at Nabi Zur, a prophet, the founder of Tyre—as Nabi Sidom was of Sidon. A similar circle exists near the Dead Sea, called Hadjar-Lasbah. They are curious, and probably examples of the monuments of stones mentioned frequently in the Bible.

* Probably the six score talents, verse 14, not that used in decorating the Temple.

† Kenrick's 'Phœnicia,' p. 19.

The sarcophagus of Esmunazar, King of Sidon, which was found in the royal burying-ground near Sidon, was taken to France by the Duc de Luynes, and is in the Louvre. The inscription upon it—the only one found in Phœnicia—is double, and consists of an imprecation on anyone who may remove the sarcophagus or its cover. He is supposed to have lived at the end of the seventh century B.C., in the last days of the Jewish monarchy. The bedstead of Og, King of Bashan, which was carried away as a trophy by the Israelitish chiefs, Jair and Nobah (Deut. iii. 11), was probably a similar construction.*

* 'Mémoires sur le Sarcophage et Inscription funéraire d'Esmunazar,' par H. Albert, Duc de Luynes.

CHAPTER IV.

ANCIENT BRITAIN—Continued.

'Match me, ye climes which poets love to laud.'

CAPGRAVE, in his ancient and amusing chronicle, says that Brute, a descendant of Æneas of Troy, gave the name of Bretayn to our island more than a thousand years B.C. Welsh tradition claims a still more ancient pedigree, as told in the following lines:

'A Welshman, who had a long sword py hur side,
Red pritches, red tublet, red coat and red peard,
Was make a great show, with a great teal of pride,
And tell a strange story—the like wass ne'er heard;
Wass reckon her petigree long pefore "Prute,"
Nopody was py hur, who could hur confute.'

In the writings of those historians who may be relied upon, we find much more to support than to confute these ancient traditions.

It has already been said that Herodotus, B.C. 450, mentions the Phœnician commerce in Britain.

Aristotle, B.C. 340 (preceptor to Alexander), says that the Britannic Islands were known to his countrymen.

Polybius, B.C. 250, wrote a history of the manufacture of

British metals, stating that it was a subject of great interest in his time.

Diodorus Siculus, B.C. 44, says: 'The inhabitants of Britain are hospitable, and, on account of their intercourse with strangers, civilized in their habits. . . . They have many kings and princes, and, for the most part, live peaceably.'

Strabo, A.D. 50, a most reliable authority, refers to the commercial enterprises of the Britons, and describes them as walking with long staves (a practice still existing among us), wearing beards, and long flowing garments girded at the waist.

Pliny, A.D. 75, calls them the 'Happy Islands,' and says British metals are highly esteemed. The most precious stones are given in exchange for them.

At a later period, Eumenius, in his panegyric on Constantine, exclaims: 'O fortunate Britain, Nature has enriched thee with the choicest blessings of heaven and earth! . . . Thou sufferest not the scorching heat of summer nor the intense cold of winter. Thy harvests reward thee with so vast an increase as to supply thy table bountifully with bread, thy cellars with wine. . . . Thy woods have no savage beasts, no serpents, to harm the traveller. . . . Innumerable are thy flocks and herds, which feed thee plenteously and clothe thee richly.'

Julius Cæsar,* in his description of Britain, which he invaded for the first time B.C. 55, says that corn was abundant and easily procured. The population was so numerous as to surprise him. Villages studded the country, which abounded with cattle. Hares and geese were kept for pleasure, but not eaten.

* See Note 2, 'Julius Cæsar.'

Vespasian, who came to Britain A.D. 42, distinguished himself in his battles with the Britons by taking twenty-five of their towns. He and his son Titus, the future destroyer of Jerusalem, fought together in Britain.

Mines are mentioned as existing, not only on the coast, but inland. There was a military and civil system of government. Soon after the conquest, Britain became one of the chief granaries of the Roman Empire, and under native superintendence British looms supplied the imperial wardrobe and the army with clothing.

It is thus evident that before the Roman conquest Britain was a peaceful, well-cultivated, and prosperous country. The Roman emperors found it well worth their conquest and all it had cost them. They constructed public works of utility and ornament; Roman villas were reproduced in Britain, and all the pomp and luxury of the imperial Court. But under Roman dominion the Britons lost much of their warlike spirit.

We have no consecutive history of our country until the time of Julius Cæsar. This brave General, who afterwards became Emperor, made his first attack upon Britain August 26, B.C. 55. He was bravely repulsed by the natives, and left our shores September 23. His second arrival was in the following year. He came with 800 ships and 30,000 men, landing July 15, B.C. 54. The Britons, under their renowned chief Cassivelaunus, who was a great military genius, and their heroic Queen, Boadicea, courageously resisted the invaders. Under the latter, 70,000 perished at Verulam by the hands of the infuriated Britons. A Roman colony at Colchester had been previously destroyed by them. This struggle was at length terminated by a

great battle, when 80,000 Britons were slain. Queen Boadicea is said to have poisoned herself rather than submit to her conquerors.

In spite of this Roman victory, the Britons retained their independence until the reign of the Emperor Claudius.

It was at this time—more than 100 years after the coming of Julius Cæsar—that the Britons fought their last great battle, under the command of the brave and noble chief Caractacus, who heroically resisted their enemies, until he was taken prisoner and sent to Rome, A.D. 52.

The scene of this last great struggle was the vale of Shropshire. The Caradoc,* the highest of the Stretton hills, to which the Britons retreated after their defeat, took its name from the great chieftain. The extensive remains of a British encampment, said to have been raised at this time, are to be seen on this hill, and prove how great was the struggle. On the Wrekin and on all the principal hills in Shropshire similar remains are found.

The historian Tacitus, whose wife was the daughter of Agricola, says that Caractacus before his last battle harangued his followers.

'This day,' he said, 'must decide the fate of Britain. Liberty or bondage begins from this hour! Remember you had ancestors who drove the great Cæsar from our shores, who preserved their freedom, their property, and the persons and honour of their wives and children.'

The Roman soldiers, ardent for the battle, moved forward to the attack, forded a stream, and then came upon a

* 'Caradoc,' the correct British name, is still popular in Wales. 'Caractacus' is the Latinized form of the same word.

strongly-entrenched position which seemed to defy further progress.

Ostorius was dubious of the results. The skill and science displayed in the construction of the British works surprised him, and the prodigious multitude of warriors seemed for a time to awe him. The battle at first was in favour of the Britons, but the brave patriots at length gave way, and retreated to the top of the hill. Caractacus escaped, but his wife and daughters were taken prisoners, and he was afterwards betrayed, it is said, by his stepmother, and taken to Rome.

'There,' says Tacitus, 'curiosity was eager to behold the heroic chieftain who for such a length of time [nine years] had made head against a great and powerful empire.'

The same historian tells us that thus the fallen warrior expressed his regret: 'If to the nobility of my birth and the splendour of my exalted station I had united moderation, Rome had beheld me, not in captivity, but as a royal visitor and friend.'

He won the esteem and favour of Claudius, who in honour of his triumph assumed, as a distinctive title, the name of Britannicus. Caractacus was set at liberty, but we have no authentic accounts of his after-life. By some it is said that he and his family during their stay in Rome became Christians; that they were taught by St. Paul, who was at the same time in Rome. How long they lived there is not known, but it is probable that, having become Christians, they lived peaceably and promoted the faith either in Rome or among their own countrymen in Britain. But though they had lost their leader, the Britons rallied

their forces and fought for their country. It was not unti after the death of Ostorius, who, worn out by embarrassments and fatigue, is said to have committed suicide, that they became subject to the Romans, about A.D. 115, 170 years after the first invasion.

Hên Dinas,* near Oswestry, is said to be the place where the Britons defeated the Romans in one of the later battles. This fort is, however, believed to have been made at a later date by Oswald or Penda.†

Sir Christopher Wren says that British earthworks surpass any erected by the Romans, and Hutton says, 'It would occupy 5,000 men a year to construct the British fort at Oswestry,' and 'that this is not the largest of their encampments.' After Ostorius came a long line of Roman generals, and several emperors commanded the invading forces.

Suetonius followed Ostorius; he conquered Anglesea and slaughtered the Druids. Many of the ablest generals won fame and glory here. Agricola was a brave and wise man. He invaded Scotland. In his time the great wall from the Firth of Clyde was built. Hadrian came to Britain A.D. 121, and constructed a second rampart, south of that built by Agricola, from the Tyne to the Solway; but it did not prevent the inroads of the Picts and Scots, a wild race who had settled in the North.

Marcellus and Albinus followed, and then came Severus, who built a wall from Tynemouth to Bowness. He died at York. Constantius Chlorus died also at York, 306. His first wife Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, is said

* The old fortified city.

† See Note 3, 'Penda.'

by some to have been a British Princess, daughter of Coel,* King of Colchester (Camulodunum).

Taking an unprejudiced view of events recorded in history, and handed down to us in tradition, we can form an idea of the condition of Britain at the time of the Roman invasion. The great numbers slain in battle, and the valiant and heroic struggles to resist their invaders, which continued upwards of a century, prove that the ancient Britons were not so uncultivated as some have supposed.

It must be remembered that in those early times, called barbarous, the nobler passions often shot forth unrestrained. The inevitable warfare and convulsions of those times called forth exertions calculated to exalt the character and develop strength of mind perhaps quite unknown in polished times.

Those who were endowed with higher gifts than their fellow-men acquired superiority and respect, but distinctions were only acquired through natural gifts, and character would be much more justly estimated than in a more advanced state of civilization, where characters are, or appear to be, more uniform, and where the human passions are disguised or concealed beneath artificial forms and manners, where many possessing powers lose their opportunities of exerting themselves, and fall into insignificance.

Mutual dependence preserved unity, and there was a total absence of all imaginary wants, such as the progress of

* 'Old King Coel was a merry old soul,
A merry old soul was he!
He called for his pipe, he called for his bowl,
He called for his fiddlers three.'

He was buried at Glastonbury, which Dugdale says was the early Westminster.

civilization and intercourse with other nations engendered. Thus, contentment and happiness would be more easily obtained when the necessary requisites were few and simple. From the home life there were none of those calls and attractions which now so often leave the paternal hearth desolate. Even natural affections, if guided rather by instinct than reason, were more steady in their impulses. Strife and internal commotions, no doubt, sometimes disturbed their tranquillity, but there must have been times of long prosperity and peace, even ages before those British towns existed, the destruction of which gave so much renown to the conquering Roman generals, the greatest among whom found it a hard task to subdue the patriotic heroism of the British people.

CHAPTER V.

DRUIDS.

'Gone to the resting-place of man, the everlasting home,
Where ages past have gone before, where future ages come.'

LOGAN.

'And yet their memory still lives in our history and records.'

DUGDALE.

THE Druidic temples of religion and astronomy had existed long before the arrival of Julius Cæsar. Some of their colleges had several thousand students. From this circumstance, it is evident that, when such numbers were able to devote themselves to study, the population must have been great.

We are told that the Druids had a sublime system of moral and theological instruction. Julius Cæsar asserts that their priests, above all things, inculcated the immortality of the soul, affirming that this truth was the highest of all motives for living virtuous lives. As priests they were sacred, as legislators politic, as philosophers enlightened and humane, their characters venerable and peaceful. Their government was entirely patriarchal. Beneath their wide-spreading oaks they sacrificed at their altars, and they gave laws to the nation. All controversies, public and private, were decided by them.

In woods and caves where they dwelt their lives were distinguished by simplicity and austerity, and by their great knowledge, wisdom and virtue they acquired a sovereign influence over the minds of the people. The impious were awed by their power, the virtuous encouraged by their favour.

But the well-known meekness and benevolence of these venerable and philosophical teachers could not save them from malevolent and unjust accusations. Like the early Christians, whose tenets were depicted in odious colours, and who were accused by their enemies and persecutors of feasting upon murdered infants, so the Druid priests have been said to have sacrificed innocent children. There is probably no more truth in the one story than in the other.

These venerable priests who ruled ancient Britain perished by the sword of their Roman conquerors.

Under the administration of Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 61, the Druids, being considered the chief obstacle to the establishment of Roman power, were attacked and slaughtered in Anglesea, where the chief of their order lived, and with them perished all their ancient records.

The Druids are supposed to have invented triads. These were composed of three sentences, which were carefully committed to memory by reciters who were at certain times appointed to meet an assembly, to whom they recited the poems and verses until they became fixed in the memory of the public. It is to the triads and to the bardic institutions that we are indebted for much of the history and tradition of the early times.

By these institutions persons were set apart for the study and continuation of tradition, and their aphorisms, poems,

and adages were more relied upon than letters, as being less liable to perversion, innovation, and imposition. The wisdom of this system is evident. By constant practice memory would be strengthened and the power of listening, now so little cultivated, would be acquired.

A triad, though composed of only three sentences, was sometimes very striking. For example:

The foundations of genius—The gift of God, man's exertion, and the events of life.

Three things that exalt genius—Learning, exertion, and exercise.

Three things that ensure prosperity—Appropriate exertion, feasible exertion, and uncommon exertion.

The foundations of happiness—Suffering with contentment, a hope that it will come, a belief that it will be.

The indispensables of language—Purity, copiousness, and aptness.

The three things that constitute a poet—Genius, impulse, and knowledge.

By a similar process events were recorded. The Druids and the ancient Britons attached much meaning to colours:

White was emblematic of purity, peace, and virtue. *Purple* signified power and jurisdiction. *Red* denoted war; *blue*, *green*, and *yellow* were worn as distinctions by chiefs and princes to mark special achievements or events.

The feudal system, which existed from the very earliest times, would suggest badges that would distinguish their different chiefs. Their numerous dependents had also distinctive badges; hence arose heraldic devices and liveries. The badges were sometimes worn in stripes on the arm, which custom also survives.

A bard was not to be armed, neither to take up any cause by physical action. Llywarch Hên, a celebrated bard of more recent date, never was a member of the order, because the tenor of his life militated against the chief maxims of that system.*

* See Note 4, 'Llywarch Hên.'

VIEW OF THE WREKIN FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

CHAPTER VI.

VILLAGES.

'For time as it is cannot stay,
Nor again as it was can it be;
Disappearing and passing away
Are the world and the ages and we.

'Back into the Infinite tend
The creations that out of it start;
Unto every beginning an end,
And whatever arrives will depart.'

LYTTON.

THE beautiful villages which lie along the banks of the Severn between the Wrekin and Shrewsbury, on that richly-wooded strip of the county which is the subject of these pages, have ever been attractive to the antiquary and the artist. There are authentic historical accounts relating to some of them. These accounts, local tradition, and discoveries which from time to time have been made, give a special interest to their early history.

Looking from the Wrekin to the south-west, we see the village of Cressage, with its picturesque bridge across the Severn. The village takes its name from Cristesache* (Christ's Oak). Here, on a spot still indicated, under a

* Cressage Church for many centuries was a chapel dependent on Cound. An early Incumbent (1239) was Robert, parson of Cristesache.

spreading oak, the Gospel was preached to our pagan forefathers. A shattered trunk remained until recent years. When Roman practices were brought into the Church of England its name was changed to the Lady's Oak, in honour of the Virgin.

Domesday Book tells us that Ranulf held Cristesache of Earl Roger, and there was a fishery of eight shillings, and a wood capable of fattening 200 swine. In Edward's time the manor was worth 110 shillings. It also says, 'Rainald the Sherif holds Etune* of the Earl. Wenesi held it in Edward's time; it was worth 40s. Rainald found it waste.'

In 1224 (Henry III.): Thomas de Constantine is mentioned in a writ, dated Ludlow, October 2, as one of the 'King's Verderers.'

1301: The church of Eton Constantine was valued at thirty shillings per annum. At this time William Despenser was Incumbent.

1341: Taxed only ten shillings because there had been a murrain among the sheep.

1634: The free chapel of Eton was worth £1 6s. 2d. per annum.

The little village has but few records, but the name of Constantine must ever be interesting to all Britons, as it is one which has descended to us from the time of the great Roman Emperor, without any corruption of his august name.

The village of Charlton, the ancient Cherleton, with the remains of its old Norman castle, is seen about two miles northward, in a direct line from the top of the hill. The castle was built soon after the Conquest. In 1317

* Eton Constantine.

(Edward II.) John de Cherleton rebuilt and embattled it. In the feuds between the barons the castle suffered, but it existed until Cromwell's time. It is said, however, that the rebels were defeated here by the King's army, and 200 men taken prisoners (1642). Eventually it was destroyed.

CHAPTER VII.

UPPINGTON.

'Let me review the scene,
And summon from the shadowy past
The forms that once have been.'

LONGFELLOW.

'Even so when I am dead shall the same bells
Ring merrily, when my brief days are gone.'

SOUTHEY.

LOOKING from the highest point on the Wrekin to the north-west, we see the village of Uppington, the ancient 'Opetone' of Domesday.

The church, standing on an eminence at the west end of the village, which is about a mile distant, is a picturesque object.

From the churchyard there is a lovely view across the vale to the ancient county town of Shrewsbury, with the lofty spires of its magnificent churches, and the Welsh mountains, as seen from the Wrekin, forming the background.

To the right of the town are Haghmond Hill and Grinshill; to the left of it stretches the long line of Shropshire mountain scenery, including the Stiperstones and Longmynd, terminating with the Caradoc and the Lawley, which rise like sugar-loaves behind Charlton's Hill. The nearer

views from the churchyard are also extremely picturesque. On the north-east the ground rises gradually to the Wrekin.

To the west, about half a mile from the village, near Charlton's Hill, once stood the ancient Priory of Basselawe, or Basselock (probably the Bassa of Llywarch Hên), which must have been a grand object in the landscape.

The land is highly cultivated, and the large fields, being well wooded with fine trees, have the appearance of a great park. It is an acknowledged fact that no foreigner can equal the English artist in landscape-painting. No doubt the luxurious and varied beauties of our scenery have developed this talent in our painters; for in this art there is no master like Nature, 'the vicar of the Almighty Lord' (Chaucer).

A French writer on 'L'État des Arts en Angleterre,' says: 'Si les peintres s'attach toujours à l'étude de la Nature, comme il parait raisonnable de le supposer, ceux qui font le paysage en Angleterre doivent exceller. Rien n'est si riant que les campagnes de ce pays-là. Plus d'un peintre y fait usage heureux des aspects charmants qui s'y presentent de toutes partes. Les tableaux de paysage y sont fort à la mode, ce genre y est cultivé avec autant de succès qu'aucun autre,' etc.

There is a never-dying charm in our landscape—in the varieties of hill and dale, with their ever-changing lights and shadows. The broad oaks of England and her graceful and majestic elms have beauties peculiarly their own. The palm and the olive have no such charms. The loftiest mountains have not the greatest attractions; their grandeur impresses us, but the heart loves to linger amidst the more picturesque scenes on a smaller scale.

Until within the last few years many traces of the ancient

priory remained. Pavements, coins, and other relics, were frequently found there, and the greater part of the moat remained undisturbed. Many of the fields in the immediate vicinity of the priory have retained their ancient distinctive names. One of them, named the 'Parson's Piece,' was no doubt cultivated by the monks. Another, which was particularly even, was called the 'Bowling-green.' An ancient yew-tree stood formerly on either side of the gate leading into this field. There is the 'Ten-Pound Piece' and the 'Bricky Leasow,' where probably there had been a brick-kiln.

The remains of a narrow road, which led from Uppington, to the left of the priory, to Charlton's Hill, are still to be seen.

Near the moat was a large and very deep pond, which the monks are said to have kept well supplied with fish, and until quite recent times young fish put into it grew and multiplied rapidly. There is also a good trout stream very near. The pond still exists, but is very small. It used to be haunted by an old monk, who, as he wore black garments, would be of the order of St. Augustine. He carried a lantern, and was supposed to be looking after the fish. This story is said to have had some connection with the Shropshire legend of 'Will-o'-the-wisp,' but this must have been a mistake; the unhappy but repentant 'Will' would not in his wanderings have looked after the fish.*

The legend of 'Will-o'-the-Wisp' is that St. Peter having ridden a long way over bad roads, his horse lost a shoe.

* Sir W. Scott's 'Will-o'-the-wisp' was a kind of 'Jack-o'-lantern,' who is said to have played the monks many tricks. The poet refers to him ('Marmion,' Canto IV.):

'Better we had through mire and bush
Been lantern-led by Friar Rush.'

The saint met with an old blacksmith named Will, who quickly shod the horse.

St. Peter asked him what he most wished for.

'To begin my life again,' said the old man.

The wish was granted, but Will did not live a good second life, and when he died admittance to heaven was denied him.

In his repentance he, too, 'wept bitterly,' and implored St. Peter to have pity; but it was too late, and the saint told him he could not be admitted; but he gave him life and permission to wander over the earth with a lighted torch to enable him to find his way about.

Domesday Book says that in 1086 Gerard de Tornai held Opetone. Godwin held it eventually. Like other Tornai escheats, Opetone lapsed to the Crown.

Henry II. conferred this manor upon Roger de Mussen, his servitor, in the matter of the purchase of Welsh horses for the King's use in Normandy. He held Opetone and Harinton on condition that he procured a soar (mewed) sparrow-hawk annually. On the Wrekin were many eyries.*

Through various grants a clear title to the whole manor was established.

Roger de Mussen, for the soul's health of his lord, King Henry II., himself and his wife, gave land and the chapel of Opetone to Wombridge Priory about 1188.

To Roger de Mussen's charter of Wombridge was attached a round white waxen seal, charged with the figure of a bird, probably a hawk, stretching out its wings.

This charter was sent to Lichfield, July 1, 1346, in consequence of legal proceedings, and the seal was broken, 'Rog' I Mussen' only remaining.

* See Note 5, 'Sparow-hawk.'

A notary drew up a certificate of the disaster and of what the seal had been, which curious certificate the canons of Wombridge embodied in their chartulary (Wombrigge Chartulary). The validity of a document depended so much on its seal being preserved that

Grey, Chaplain of Wrocester . . .	Wroxeter,
Ernald, Chaplain of Opetone . . .	Uppington,
Philip de Welinton	Wellington,
Roger de Basselawe, or Basselock . .	Beslow,

and many other important persons, are witnesses to this deed, which was passed about 1190.*

The sparrow-hawk was rendered on the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula.

On August 1 was held the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula. Marvellous cures are said to have been made to the daughter of the Tribune Quirinus from kissing the chains of St. Peter.

In the ancient calendar of the Church of Rome it is remarked that on August 1 'chains are worshipped,' etc. Peter's pence was paid on this day.

Laithmas, pronounced 'Lacemas,' hence Lammas, was the day of the oblation of grain.

The Druids kept great festivals in February, May, August, November, when large fires were lighted. The festival of August was dedicated to the fruits of the soil.

It was about 1175, when Henry II. visited Shrewsbury,† that he gave Opetone by royal charter to Roger de Mussen. He died about 1191, leaving his estates at Opetone and Harinton to his widow Galiena and his nine daughters.

* Eyton. † See Chapter XIII., 'Shrewsbury.'

Galiena gave her share (half-virgate) to Wombrigge Priory for the soul of her husband and her parents. The priory leased it for a term of years to Philip the Chaplain, but about 1220 he granted it to Adam Cherlton, husband of Alice, one of the co-heiresses of Roger de Mussen, in exchange for a piece of land at Opetone. (This piece of land most probably was Charlton's Hill, which still retained its ancient name.) In 1284 Richard de la Buri, great-grandson of Alice Charlton (*née* de Mussen), held it in capite of the King. In 1292 (Edward I.) he was still the tenant of it, though the King had in the interim granted the seigneury of all that was implied by the sparrow-hawk to Robert Burnel,* Bishop of Bath and Wells.

From this time—end of thirteenth century—there is no consecutive history of Opetone. It would be contained principally in the records relating to Wombridge, from which place, as regards Church matters, it was not entirely separated until a few years since, when Uppington was changed from a perpetual curacy to a vicarage.

The following account is from Domesday Book and other authentic accounts:

OPETONE.

The same Gerald holds Opetone. Godwin held it. There are two hides geldable, the land is enough for v ox teams. In demesne are ii teams, and there are vi neat-herds and iiii boors with two ox-teams.

Here is a wood a league in length and thereon one Haye.

* The heirs of Robert Burnel are mentioned twenty years later as seized of 9s. rent in Opetone, substituted for the older payment of the sparrow-hawk. 'See Lords of Opetone.'

In King Edward's time (Confessor) the manor was worth 25 shillings, now 30 shillings.*

Harno Peverel† married Sybil, daughter of Gerard de Tornai, and succeeded to the estates. He held them during the reign of Henry I., and among them was Opetone. According to a curious old Latin manuscript, he during his life appointed Withilmo Peverel, his nephew, and Walcheline Maiminot to be his heirs. Henry II. ignored their claims to the estates of Sybil de Tornai, and Opetone lapsed to the Crown.

The Shropshire Pipe Roll of 1162 introduces Roger de Mussen as a landholder in the county, and favoured by the King (Henry II.). In 1173 the Pipe Rolls also record that the Sheriff paid £3 13s. 4d. to Roger de Mussen for conveying the King's horses over sea, by the King's direction, and the King rewarded him by a grant of land at Opetone, as is shown by the following Latin document copied from the Wombrigge Chartulary:

'Henricus, Rex Anglia, et Dux Normanniæ, et Aquitaniæ et Comes Andgaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, &c. Salutem Sciatis me dedisse &c. Roger Mussen, Servienti meo, et heredibus suis, terram de Upitona pro 100 soldatis terræ, quæ est sub Monte Gilberti, quæ fuit Hamonis Peverel, et in Headintona 50 soldatis terræ quæ fuerunt ejusdem Hamonis Peverel quæ sunt justa Burgam, ad tenendum eas de me et heredibus meis uno espervario soro animatim reddendo pro omni servico,' etc.

The Pipe Roll shows no renewal of former trusts, but proves (1190) that Roger de Mussen had fallen under the

* Domesday Book, folio 258, 62.

† Eyton, vol. viii., p. 151; pub. 1859.

displeasure of King Richard, for whose goodwill he had paid fifteen merks—'pro habenda benevolentia Regis.'

His death must have soon followed his disgrace, for in 1191 Galiena, his widow, paid 100 shillings for license to marry her nine daughters to whom she pleased—forty shillings paid down and sixty shillings owed. She paid it by instalments until 1194. It seems, however, that this was not considered sufficient, for on Richard's return from captivity she paid five marks more (1195). The year 1189 is assigned by Eyton as the proximate date of Roger de Mussen's gift to Wombridge of the chapel of Opetone, for the sake of the King, himself and wife. At the same time he also executed the following deed of bequest:

'Roger de Mussen, for the soul's health of himself and wife Galiena and his children, gave to the same priory all his waste and woodland in Wichele, as enclosed by a headland or furrow (forrea).'

'No story,' says Eyton, 'can be more intricate than that of the descent of Roger de Mussen's nine daughters. . . . This,' he says, 'arises partly from the inaccuracies of the Wombridge Chartulary, which contains about 200 instruments relating to the grants and acquisitions which the canons obtained at Opetone from the coheiresses, their husbands, descendants and tenants.'

Eyton must be credited with a very diligent study of the subject, and he has endeavoured to epitomize it; but when he tells us that six of the daughters had nine husbands it becomes confused, and here it would be useless to discuss the matter. It is, however, an interesting story.

In 1255 the Bradford Hundred Roll tells precisely how the nine shares of Opetone were then held:

The manor maintained its Domesday hidage, viz., ii hides. The soar hawk, payable to the King by the nine coparceners, was stated to be due on the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1).

The nine shares were held as follows:

1. Philip, son of John de Beckbury, married *Alina*, 1196, and held . . . 1 ninth.
2. Alexander Fitz-Roger of Newport, Piscator (Fisher), married *Petronilla*, and held . 1 ninth.
3. Richard de Brug married *Sybil*, and held . 1 ninth.
4. The Priory of Wombridge by grant held . 1 ninth.
5. Ralph and Henry de Burton held between them . . . . . 1 ninth.

6 and 7. The son of William de Buri, of Opetone, under age, and a ward of John Mansell, held by gift of the King . . . 2 ninths.

8. William Dod of Alveley married *Isolda*, and held . . . . . 1 ninth.
9. Richard Corbront married *Juliana*, and held 1 ninth.

1. Alina .	married	John of Beckbury.
2. Petronilla .	„	Alexander of Newport.
3. Sybil . .	„	Richard de Brug.
4. Alianore .	„	Robert of Loskesford (Losford).
5. Dionisia .	„	Roger Bocharte of Bourton and Pulley.
6. Alice . .	„	Adam of Cherleton.
7. Isabel . .	„	Richard of Chesthul.
8. Isolda .	„	Dod of Alveley.
9. Juliana .	„	Corbront.*

* Eyton.

In one of the deeds relating to Alianore de Opitone it is written Copiton. Alianore de Opitone, who died about 1241, left five daughters, Dimota, Dionisia, Amisia, Sybil, and Isabel, and one son, who died young. The other sisters also left both sons and daughters, whose descendants appear to have married into those families in the neighbourhood whose names are still very familiar and well known.

Eyton's accounts of Opitone and the de Mussen family are taken from the Pipe Rolls, the chartularies of Wombridge and Lilleshall, and other ancient documents relating to this part of the county, and he has searched out with unusual care the very valuable information he has given. He has also added a table of the pedigree of the de Mussen family, which, notwithstanding the difficulties owing to inaccuracies already referred to, is a most interesting document. It is curious to notice the names occurring as witnesses to the numerous deeds in connection with Opitone and the descendants of Roger de Mussen. The greater part of them have, through all the diversity of phonetic spelling, retained their original pronunciation to the present time.* Those of frequent occurrence are William de Beckbury, Adam de Cherleton, John Mansell, Richard de la Buri, Sir John de Escalew, Baldwin de Hodnet, Alan and Ulgar de Sogedon, Hamo de Alarescote, Hugh de Bolas, Richard de Leighton, Thomas de Constantine, Thomas de Eston, Robert de Besselowe, William de Norton, William de Eyton, Walter de Opton (Waters Upton), Roger de Apleye, Robert de Clotleye (Cluddley), Richard de Byrche, Richard de Huntiton, Sir William de Draiton, Henry de Garmeston, and others well known in the present day.

* See Note 6, 'Personal Names.'

All the nine daughters of Roger de Mussen appear to have had a share in the 'Wicheleys,'* and in the bosc of Mount Gilbert, and each of them gave part of her inheritance to Wombridge Priory.

About 1220 Adam de Cherleton, husband of Alice de Mussen, at her request and advice, and with the consent of his heir, gave to Wombridge that share of the Wicheleys which had come to him by the right of the said Alice. Upon this land the canons had begun to build houses, probably in virtue of Roger de Mussen's grant. They gave to Adam in return that half-virgate in Hariton which Philip the Chaplain held.

Adam de Cherleton bought a share of the Wicheleys—probably that part which still retains the name of Charlton's Hill—from one of the other daughters of Roger de Mussen, and gave it to Wombridge about 1220, in frank almoign. Among the witnesses to this deed are the names of William de Hadleye, Walter de Stirchleye, Roger de Apleye.

Between 1227 and 1237 two deeds testify that Alina, daughter of Roger de Mussen, widow of Hugh de Beckbury, gives to Wombridge her share of Wicheleys, and concedes her share of the bosc and waste of Opetone, and of the mill and vivary, besides two acres more, reserving only a rent of fourpence on the mill towards the annual purchase of a hawk for the King's use. Petronilla† is named only once in the Wombridge Chartulary. She gives her share of the Wicheleys to the priory at twelvepence rent. Sybil not only conveys her share of the Wicheleys, but of Opetone Mill and other land, in exchange for the aforesaid half-virgate, but binds her heirs in a penalty of twenty merks to observe this deed. To this deed Sir Herbert de Ettingham is one of the witnesses.

* This land still retains its ancient name. † A Roman name.

Between 1226 and 1240 Sybil gave two scilions in the field at Opetone to the priory. The witnesses were Sir W. de Dreiton, Chaplain ; Sir Herbert de Ettingham, Chaplain ; Benedict de Eston, Robert de Brocton, Roger de Eppeleye, and Adam de Cherleton.

Within the same interval Richard de Brug, with Sybil's assent, gives to the priory his share of Brethawell's Medwe and of a meadow lying near the road from Opetone to Wicheley Grange. One of the witnesses to this deed is Benedict de Aston.

All that remained to John of Beckbury, great-grandson of Alina de Mussen, was a penny rent, receivable from Richard de la Lythe (who lived at Dreiton Abbots), on half a virgate, and a pair of white gloves, receivable from the lands held by John Coli. About 1345 John de Beckbury, son and heir of Philip de Beckbury, gave these rents to Wombridge Priory.

The descendants of Alice de Mussen and Adam de Cherleton appear to have been connected with Opetone at a later date than any of the others.

Adam de Cherleton died in 1225, leaving a son named Adam, who died between 1237 and 1241. He also left a son named William, born about 1237, who follows his father, Adam, as a witness, appearing as a landholder himself, attesting charters, which his father had never named, under the name of William Fitz-Adam.

Eyton believes this William de Cherleton to have been the same person who bore the name of William de la Cort, in a writ ordering his lands to be extended (July 10, 1243). An inquest was forthwith held, and among the jurors were Thomas de Erleton, Robert de Besselow, etc.

The said William de la Cort had held six bovates, *i.e.*, one and a half virgates, in demesne at Opetone, besides rents amounting to £1 9s. 5d., and a pair of gloves. His wife was entitled to a third of this estate. His son Richard was then over three years of age.

At this time Reginald, grandson of Juliana de Mussen, was dead, and had also left a son in minority.

Three shares of Opetone were therefore now in the custody of the Crown; but the inquest of 1243 having been mislaid or misunderstood, another inquest was called, and it was reported that the land, which was *in manu Regis* at Opetone, was held in capite by service of three out of nine parts of a soar sparrow-hawk, and that it was worth yearly £2 4s. 5d. and a pair of white gloves. To John Mansell, already mentioned, the King granted the custody of these three shares.*

Hence in 1255 the said John Mansell appears with the wardship of three ninths of Opetone. In two of the said three ninths, Richard, son of William de la Buri, was his ward, and was already married to the daughter of Hugh de Longslow, or Wlonkslow.

William de Cherleton, *alias* William de la Cort, had had a third name, viz, William de la Buri, and we shall see that his descendants were usually called de Buri. Eyton believes that, because a part of Opetone frequently named in the Wombridge Chartulary is called 'the Bury,' he took his name from it. Eyton also attributes the name 'de la Cort' to his having lived at the principal or Court House.

In a writ dated May 11, 1259, he is called William de Opinton. It would thus appear that he took the name 'de

* See p. 52, 6 and 7.

Cherleton' from property he owned there, and adopted the *alias* 'de la Cort' when he occupied the Court House at Opinton. A later inheritance of 'the Buri' probably gave him this name.

That his real name was de Buri is evident from the fact that his son is called Richard de la Buri de Opinton (Richard of the Buri of Opinton), who might have inherited only this part of his father's property.

It is still a custom among old families in Wales to designate themselves by the names of their residences. 'De' is more distinguished than 'de la': thus 'de Cherleton,' 'de Opinton,' would imply possession of landed property—'de la Cort,' 'de la Buri,' residence only.

At an inquest taken June 13, 1259, the jury found that William de Opinton held in capite four virgates in Opinton and Harinton by service of two out of nine parts of a soar sparrow-hawk. He had also two virgates in Dreiton, under the Abbot of Shrewsbury, for a rent of eight shillings; one virgate in the vill of Cherleton, of the Church of St. Mary, Shrewsbury, for a rent of one shilling. Richard, his son and heir, had attained the age of twenty-two on June 11, 1259, two days before the inquest.

From this time until his death, about 1307, Richard de la Buri of Opinton, as he is usually called, is constantly named in numerous undated deeds, etc. He appears on jury lists, 1274, 1284, 1285, accompanied in the last instance by Reginald de la Buri.* Other notices show him under dates 1282, 1284, 1292, with a prominent interest in Opinton. From the Wombridge Chartulary it would appear that he made numerous grants to that house. The only other

* Great-grandson of Roger de Mussen.

deed of importance is his will. It is not dated, but was probably executed, in anticipation of his death, between 1304 and 1308. Richard Corbrond and Hugh de Eyton are his executors. He directs that his body shall be buried at Wombridge, and with his body bequeaths the upper part of Broadmeadwe and his best ox. He gives for lights, etc., a seglion of his goods and chattels and live-stock. Some part is bestowed on the poor. The oblation in Upinton Chapel, the Friars Minor (Minorites), the Preaching Friars, the Augustine Friars, and one or two legatees, are named for benefactions. A part of the residue of his goods is to be bestowed for the good of his soul; some part to go to his wife, Christiana, and a third part to be divided equally between his three sons, Adam, John, and Richard. Richard, though mentioned last, was his eldest son.

Christiana must have been his second wife; his first was a Longslow. Richard, his heir, speaks of her as his step-mother. He also had a son, Richard, who married Matilda, daughter of William, son of Robert Sutton, May 13, 1325. Richard de la Buri the younger died, and Margery, his sister, transfers a tenure under Wombridge Priory to Matilda, his widow, Richard senior attesting the transaction as Margery's father.

The main interest of the de Buri family seems now to have been alienated from Opinton.

By a deed of January 6, 1333, Richard de la Buri senior acknowledged himself to have done fealty for life to Sir Roger Corbet. He further quit-claims all right to the premises already conveyed to Corbet by his daughter-in-law.

Richard de la Buri died in 1339, leaving a widow and a

daughter, both named Margery, with very slender means, which they appear to have soon surrendered.

April 1, 1339 : Margery, the widow, quit-claims to Richard Crow, her right of dower in one acre in Opinton.

July 25, 1344 : Margery, widow of Richard de la Buri, concedes to Richard, Prior of Wombridge, all her right in eighteen acres which her husband had held in Opinton.

August 1, 1344 : She quit-claims Sir Roger Corbet, of Hadley, all like right of dower, or otherwise, in any tenements which her late husband had held at any time at Opinton.

In another deed she quit-claims to the same the right of two messuages and thirty-one acres at Opinton.

May 3, 1344 : Adam, his son, quit-claims to Richard, Prior of Wombridge, all his right in his father's estates at Opinton, and this is attested by Sir Roger Corbet.

Again, June 29, 1344 : Adam, son of Richard de la Buri, quit-claims to Sir R. Corbet all right in the lands and tenements which had belonged to his late father in Opinton and Harinton.

Lastly, March 19, 1346 : Margerie, daughter of Richard de la Buri, quit-claims to Richard, Prior of Wombridge, a messuage and half-virgate at Opinton, which her father had given her.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century Opetone is shown under a very different combination of tenures. The tax of the *ninth* had been assessed at ten merks on the whole parish of Wroxeter, and contained eighteen virgates, but it does not appear that one of the ancient tenants in capite was now represented hereditarily. It was agreed to

apportion the assessment at so much on each half-virgate in the parish.

The Prior of Wombridge held eight half-virgates, and the names of those who held the others are nearly all new ones, and it is a curious fact that none of these names have descended to our time.

Opinton during the fourteenth century was a very important place, and several Lords of Opinton are mentioned, but its connection with Wombridge was fatal to its particular history.

The lords of the manor, as enumerated in the Feodary of 1284, were William de la Sale, Richard de Brug, the Prior of Wombridge, Richard de la Buri, and Richard Corbront. Eyton, in a note (vol. viii., p. 157) says that 'William de la Sale was son of Alexander Fitz-Roger, but was deceased November, 1283 — a circumstance which must not be allowed to invalidate the date 1283, which I usually assign to the Feodary.'

'These Feodaries being compilations from not quite coeval notes, in this instance 1284 is the best average, not the exceptional date.'

The above-named were jointly responsible for the old service due to the Crown. At the assizes of 1292 it was shown how Roger de Mussen had once held Opetone by the service of the soar hawk, and how the said service was now changed to an annual rent of four shillings. William de la Sale, Richard Corbront, and Richard de la Buri were now the only representatives of the original co-heiresses.

About 1220, and apparently after the death of his father and mother, Roger, son of Richard de Chesthul and Isabel, seventh daughter of Roger de Mussen, gives, with the advice

and assent of his friends, to Adam de Cherleton and Alice his wife (Roger's aunt) all his land at Opetone, viz., the Court House, with three nokes of land, which Isabel his mother had held in demesne, and a ninth of Opetone Bosc and of Himshell Mill,* and all the right he had at Opetone and elsewhere of the inheritance of his mother Isabel, to wit, in half a virgate at Harinton. The deed is witnessed by Thomas de Constantine, Richard de Leighton, William de Eyton.

It would appear that Isabel was second wife of Richard de Chesthul, as he had an undoubted heir named Robert, who never had anything to do with Opetone.

A deed dated 1230 mentions lands at Opetone purchased by Adam de Cherleton I. from Roger de Chesthul.

Adam de Cherleton, who was father of the William (who bore the three names mentioned above) died, as has been said, between 1237 and 1241.

Richard Corbront, who married Juliana, ninth daughter of Roger de Mussen, and his descendants were important people at Opetone.

About 1300 a Richard Corbront grants to his son Alan four acres. In this deed are mentioned his brother Adam, their father Richard, and a William. The witnesses are Richard de la Buri de Opetone, Richard Bras de Doninton, and Hugh de Garmston. There were Corbronts living at Opetone until 1405, but their relationship to the parent stock is not traceable.

The name of Chesthul is now lost, but this manor occu-

* 'Mills at this time appear to have been valuable property. The Empress Matilda, daughter of Henry I., granted Walcot Mill to Hamon Abbey about 1143. Stephen called Walcote was a member of his manor at Welinton.'—Eyton, vol. viii., p. 181.

pied the angle formed by the confluence of Bailey Brook and the river Tern. It includes Tern Hill, anciently Hulle.

Early in the fourteenth century disputes arose between the Prior of Wombridge and the representatives of the co-heirs concerning the nine portions of Opetone Bosc, and the Prior conceded to them four portions, so it would appear that the Prior had five ninths of the manor. Each bound himself to observe the agreement under a penalty of twenty marks, to be applied in aid of the Holy Land.

The whole parish of Opetone was originally part of the Saxon parish of Wroxeter; consequently the portioners of Wroxeter had, and maintained, a general right to the tithes of Opetone—a general right, because there was a particular exception.

Whoever founded Opetone Chapel, whether Gerard de Tornai or Hamo de Peverel, Roger de Mussen endowed it with tithes of his demesne. Demesne tithes then could be, and were in this instance, separated from the mother-church and bestowed upon the daughter. This very fact gives a high antiquity to Opetone Church, for such arbitrary consecration of tithes was only exercised in the first century after the Norman Conquest.

We have seen that about 1188 Roger de Mussen granted the advowson of Opetone Chapel to Wombridge, and expressed that it was endowed out of his own demesnes. No less than three charters of Bishop Hugh de Novant allude to this gift. The third confirms the advowson, naming Roger de Mussen 'Lord of the Fee,' as the original granter thereof. It gives also to the Wombridge canons a beneficence, or annual pension, of half a merk, to be paid

out of the profits of the chapel by any clerk whom the canons might present.

In 1283, in the time of Pope Alexander, a dispute was carried on for nine years; judgment was finally given against the Prior of Wombridge, and the tithes and oblations of certain dwellings (*mansorum*), and of three carucates of land at Opetone, and also of the land and grange of Wicheley and of Motemeadow, were claimed.

In 1293 every point was decided in favour of Wombridge; but in 1346 the then incumbent of the third portion of Wroxeter again raised the dispute. In this suit John Faber of Doniton, Nicholas Coke, John Clerk, Robert le Synger of Opetone, were co-defendants with the Prior of Wombridge. The Wroxeter claim was dismissed.

In 1536 the Prior of Wombridge received ten shillings per annum for a moiety of the tithes of Opetone Chapel; the other moiety went probably to the Abbot of Hamon, as Rector of Wroxeter. The officiating priest was called Chaplain of Opetone. The canons of Wombridge had appropriated the rectory. Of these humble functionaries, one named Ernald, about 1195, attests 'Galiena's Deed.'* Another, unnamed himself, had a son William, who is mentioned as 'a freeholder' in Opetone from 1246 to 1266.

Sir William de la Coke of Opetone, chaplain, is mentioned about 1300, and Bartholomeo appears to have been Chaplain of Opetone, 1394 to 1402.

John de Opetone was admitted to the vicarage of Sutton Madox† in 1330, on the presentation of the Priory of Wombrigge. A Sir John de Opetone died August 15, 1345.

* Widow of Roger de Mussen. † From Madok de Sutton.

CHAPTER VIII.

UPPINGTON—Continued.

'The earth buildeth on the earth
Castles and towers;
The earth sayeth to the earth,
"All shall be ours."
The earth walketh on the earth
Glistering like gold;
The earth goeth to the earth
Sooner than it wold.'

In a small history of Shropshire, written by Cox, published in 1700, Uppington is mentioned as a town, and the old people of this century continued to speak of 'going down the town' and of 'meeting their friends in the street.' It was curious also to observe how the old pronunciation remained. It was still Upeton, but many of these links with the past are now missing.

The village formerly was very picturesque; but restorations, introducing a great prevalence of red brick and the straightening of all the delightful old lanes, have greatly diminished its natural beauties.

Near the church once stood the Vicarage, which only disappeared a few years ago. A suitable house having been built at Donington School,* and the incumbent of Uppington

* See 'Gronow Owen,' Chapter XI.

THE OLD MANOR-HOUSE AT UPPINGTON.

having the appointment of head-master, he lived there. In the Vicarage garden, part of which still remains, and is suggestive of a pretty addition to the present churchyard, there was until about 1850 an old apple-tree—the fruit always bore the name of 'Markham's apples'—said to have been planted by the first recorded Vicar, the Rev. Thomas Markham. These apples were much appreciated by the village children, and as some fell into the churchyard, they were considered available as common property.

A very handsome black and white house on the opposite side of the way was once the property and residence of the Carters. Their descendants in the female line, named Boore, still live at Uppington. This house, until the early part of this century, had a handsome west front, with a fine oaken hall and staircase. The little that remains of this ancient residence is now entirely defaced and neglected. Near this was the house where Dr. Richard Allestree* was born, 1619. Between his house and the church the remains of a Roman villa, already mentioned, were discovered.† The house now occupying this site has for many years been the residence of the great men's greater men.

In the centre of the village were cross-roads, where probably the Holy Emblem once stood. One of the roads has now disappeared.

A short distance from the old cross-roads stood another large house. This was probably the site of the house referred to by Eyton as The Court. It was made into four houses, and called The Square.

The best of the four dwellings was inhabited by a family

* See 'Dr. Allestree,' Chapter XI.

† See Roman villa, page 89.

named Harington, said to have been descended from the ancient family of the Harintons. A venerable old man and his daughter were the last of the family. When they died, about forty years ago, the old house was demolished.

Another block of old houses stood a little farther away on the opposite side of the road. These were thatched, and being struck by lightning, took fire, and were completely destroyed. New cottages and the schoolroom before mentioned were built on the site.

At the end of the village, near where the blacksmith's shop now is, there was a handsome residence, where Richard Boore, or Booreye, lived. The last remains of this house disappeared in the early part of the eighteenth century; but fruit-trees which had stood in the garden remained, and a superannuated pear-tree was known as 'Richard Booreye's pear-tree.'

Trees have frequently been the means of transmitting names and traditions. Both Markham's (called Markrum's) apple-tree and Richard Booreye's pear-tree disappeared about the same time. The pear-tree has a much longer life than the apple-tree; hence the proverb: 'Who plants a pear plants for his heir.'

This Richard Booreye was a wealthy wool-merchant at Shrewsbury, descended from Richard Booreye (Booree, or Buri), who was a 'merchant of Shrewsbury' in the reign of Edward I.*

In 1300, when the family interest had been alienated from Opetone and none of them lived there, a Richard de la Buri de Opetone is mentioned.† The name Richard has

* See Sharman's Hall, Shrewsbury.

† See Roger de Mussen's daughters; see also origin of name.

descended through all the numerous generations to the present day. Richard, of pear-tree memory, was the first who returned to live at Opetone.

His descendants lived for many generations at the 'Lower House,' built, it was supposed, on the ancient 'Bury.' A few years ago, the late Richard Boore removed to another house near, where his family still live.

In 1740 there were three of this family named Richard living in the village. In 1741 one of them married Elizabeth Carter. He was father of John Boore, who died 1790, who was great-grandfather of the present John Boore of Uppington. The ancient right of sheep-walks on the Wrekin was retained in the family until it was planted, in the early part of this, the nineteenth century. Some of the family lived in Shrewsbury until the end of the eighteenth century, and an attempt was made to restore the name to at least its ancient pronunciation, by writing it Booree. An old lady of the family resolutely kept it engraved on a brass plate on her door, but from indifference or neglect on the part of other members of the family, one vowel was dropped. Several gravestones bearing this name were formerly to be seen in St. Mary's churchyard.

(The following facts relate to a branch of this family who settled in Wiltshire:

'Boreham, Boreton, or Burton de la Mere, is a very ancient hamlet in the east of the parish of Warminster-supposed to have been the residence (*temp.* Edward II.) of Robert de la Bore—whence its name—who was lord of Hill Deverill. La Bore was a family of considerable note in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

'Robert de la Bore (17 Edward II.) entered into cove-

nant in a fine to the King of £20 for a licence to the Priory and Convent of St. Rhadegund of Longleat, to enable him to hold certain lands in Warminster "ad inveniendum quatuor oapé Clos." He paid £20 to the King for pardon had for transgression. "Et sibi et hœredibus suis in feodo balliumbedellar, Hundredi de Warminster." He founded a Chantry at Hill Deverill, and endowed it with two messuages, thirty acres of arable land, one of mead, and £20 per annum to maintain it.'*

In the time of Henry VI., Edward Gifford, of Roddenhurst, son of Walter, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Osbourne, of Bourton or Boreham, and had a son, Maurice, whose descendant, William Gifford, of Boreham, died in 1695. His daughter and sole heir, Mary Gifford, married Thomas Buckler, of Warminster, and their son, William Buckler, Esq., of Boreham, had two daughters, co-heirs—Dorothy, who married John Lethbridge, Esq., of Sandhill Park, Somerset, created Baronet 1804; and Mary, wife of Francis Dugdale Ashley, Esq., of Everley, Wilts.)

Other descendants of Adam de Cherleton were also wool-merchants in Shrewsbury. One of the great wool marts was called Chorlton's Hall.

A family, said to have been descendants of the above Adam de Cherleton, lived at Charleton until the early part of the present century. There was great friendship between the two families, and the old cousinship was always declared. Many stories were formerly told of the stately Madam Chorton, of Chorton, as it used to be called; the sumptuous entertainments and the quantity of ancient

* 'History of Warminster,' by John Daniell, Vicar of Winterbourne, Wilts.

plate brought forth there on these festive occasions were long remembered.

There used formerly to be great hospitality among the Uppington people. The wake was a time of great festivity. It began on the festival of the Church, Trinity Sunday. During the week there were dances at all the principal houses, with general feasting and amusements. Wake cakes (like Shrewsbury cakes) were made and sold in large quantities.

No kind of public-house has ever been known to exist at Uppington. There was formerly a small dell, on the side of the road called the Greenway Lane, which was known as the 'Scotch Bonnet.' This might seem to indicate a sign, but it was, more probably, a memorial of some loyal act, or demonstration, in the time of the Stewarts, for the people at Uppington were then, as now, loyal to Church and King.

Shropshire was the chief scene of Charles II.'s adventures and preservation after his defeat at the battle of Worcester, September 3, 1651. Near Charlton's Hill is a spot called the Watch Oak, where tradition says the King concealed himself in an oak-tree.

Dr. Allestree, with Dr. Carter and a great part of the inhabitants of Uppington, met King Charles I. at Wellington, when 'he there issued a proclamation, September 20, 1642, before the public, and made a solemn promise, in the presence of Almighty God, to protect the Church of England, and to live and die in the same, also to govern faithfully by the laws of the land.'*

'In a few days the King's army increased to 10,000 foot and 4,000 horse.

* Rapin.

'At Shrewsbury he was joined by his two sons, Prince Charles and James, Duke of York, Prince Rupert and many of the nobility. Here he received the plate from Oxford, secretly conveyed by Sir John Byron.'*

About 1730 a romantic tragedy occurred at Uppington. A Miss Carter, daughter of John Carter, was engaged to Richard Boore. One day when he returned from shooting, she, with his sister, was looking at the game he had shot, when he jokingly pointed his gun at her; it went off, and she was killed on the spot. More than a hundred years after this sad event, the marks made upon a beam, caused by the shots entering it, could be plainly seen.

Dr. Carter was a learned and studious man. At the old black-and-white house there is a small room over the porch which was called 'Dr. Carter's library,' and there are traces of small windows on either side, which it was said he had put in 'to enable him to look out to the west and down the town.'

John Carter, above-mentioned, died 1765, and William Bitterley, a relative, came to live at Uppington, where the Carters had lived for so many years. The Bitterleys were the last of an old Shropshire family—the Bitterleys of Bitterley. They possessed considerable property at Walcot, in the parish of Wrockwardine. Several of this family were buried in a vault in the chancel of Wrockwardine Church, but restoration has caused their tombstones to be removed.

William Bitterley left three daughters, co-heiresses. Their uncle, Mr. Hawkins, of Charlton, was appointed to be their guardian, and it was said that he wronged his nieces. The property, at any rate, became his possession.

* See 'Dr. Allestree,' Chapter XI.

All that remained of it (at Walcot) was sold about forty years ago by the last of the Hawkinses who lived at Charlton.

The eldest Miss Bitterley, Elizabeth, married William Williams, and was buried in Uppington churchyard (1824). Her eldest daughter, Ann, married John Boore. The second, Sarah, married Mr. Swynerton, of Staffordshire. The third, Katherine, married Mr. Pitchford, of Pitchford Park. She survived her husband many years, and was famous for telling stories of bygone times. The following was one of her favourite stories, and related to one of her ancestors, of whose beauty and many charms she was very proud:

AUNT KITTY'S STORY.

'The god of love—ah, benedicite!
How mighty and how great a lord is he!'

Katherine Bitterleye, or 'Beautiful Kitty' as she was called, was the only child of Sir Robert Bitterleye of Bitterleye. Her mother died when she was about seven years of age. A distant relative of her father's came to live with him and took charge of the little Kitty. Sir Robert mourned long and deeply the loss of his much-loved wife, and he adored the young motherless child she left him. Nor was she less beloved by the good Dame Scotot—'Aunty Scotty,' as the child learnt to call her.

Miss Kitty grew up with all the advantages that wealth and affection could lavish upon her, and she was very beautiful. The good Aunty Scotty did all she could to make up for the loss of the gentle mother, and her education was not neglected, for Dame Scotot was a clever woman. The sprightly Kitty could wield the distaff and dance a minuet; she could play the harp and sing like a bird.

Besides these accomplishments she was the best horsewoman in the country.

With such attractions it is not surprising that she had many admirers. Among them there was one who was very wealthy and not unworthy of her choice; he was also favoured with her father's approval; but Kitty had given her heart to another—to the handsome Roger Eskelot, her cousin, who was an orphan and nearly related to Dame Scotot. He had from his childhood spent much time at Bitterleye, and the two children had been playfellows.

Roger was also a favourite with Sir Robert, for besides a handsome face and a fine figure, such as no lady would disdain, he had many estimable qualities. He was warm-hearted, generous, high-bred, and a gallant soldier. During the last three years he had been absent from England. Letters in those days were like angels' visits, and more than a year had passed since any tidings of him had been received.

Sir Robert encouraged the suit of the wealthy lover, and had more than once spoken to Kitty on the subject, expressing his approval in such a decided manner as to astonish Kitty, who had, in all things, ever been accustomed to act as she pleased, and yet she and her father had never had any serious differences. Kitty became thoughtful, and Dame Scotot thought she sometimes saw a tear glitter in her eyes.

'What aileth thee, my child?' she asked one day, when Kitty seemed more thoughtful and sad than usual.

'Nothing aileth me, Aunty Mammy,' she replied. This was another of those endearing names which she often used when she addressed Dame Scotot.

'Why, then, art thou so sad? I see tears in thy gentle eyes, and thou wert never wont to be so silent. Tell me, child, what aileth thee?'

Kitty rose without making any reply, and throwing her arms round Dame Scotot's neck, she whispered, hiding her face on her shoulder: 'I do not love him; I cannot marry him!'

Dame Scotot, who had so tenderly loved and watched over the motherless child, had not been slow to observe that the maiden cared not for the favoured suitor, but as neither Sir Robert nor Kitty had spoken to her on the subject she also had kept silence. Her love for the young girl, who was dearer to her than her life, had now led her to break that silence.

But, though the good lady knew that Kitty did not love the man her father wished her to marry, she was not aware that her heart had been given to another. The intimacy and affection, which had commenced when both the children were so young, had never been considered anything more than such as exists between a brother and sister.

Kitty was now in her twentieth year, Roger was twenty-three. His return was expected in a few months, and Kitty had naturally spoken with much pleasure of seeing him again, but she had in no way betrayed her secret.

'But tell me, my darling,' said Dame Scotot, 'why canst thou not love this man to whom thy good father would give thee?'

And Kitty gave that reply, which thousands have given in such a case: 'Because I cannot.'

These words were uttered in a low, earnest voice, and a long silence followed. Then Dame Scotot whispered: 'Tell me why—tell me all.'

And she told her all. It was little she had to tell, for such revelations need few words. When Kitty had spoken both sat for a few moments in silence. Then Dame Scotot asked: 'Art thou quite sure that he loves thee as thou believest?'

'I am sure,' said Kitty.

When Roger had gone away, three years previously, he was twenty, Kitty seventeen. No love-making had passed between them; but whilst he was making preparations for his departure, in many trifling circumstances their mutual love had betrayed itself, and when they had met for a few minutes alone on the evening before he left, an incident had occurred which had been to them as a pledge.

Kitty stood on the hearth in the library at Bitterleye. Roger entered the dimly-lighted room immediately after she had gone down, and as he perceived her he advanced quickly, and drawing her towards him, pressed a long, silent kiss upon her lips. At that moment Sir Robert entered the room, and no word was spoken; but that first kiss of love had said all that was needed.

The young people, in no way disconcerted, stood together. Roger retained Kitty's hand, which he had clasped in a firm grasp, and thus they went hand in hand to dinner.

Sir Robert had not seen all, but there was a something in the fact of finding them together, and their continuing to clasp each other's hand which he did not forget. This it was that had caused him to urge on the betrothal of his daughter before the return of Roger Eskelot. We must do him the justice to say that, if he had ever thought there was any attachment between the cousins, he believed that it had long ceased to exist.

A few days after the conversation recorded above between Dame Scotot and Kitty, Sir Robert told the latter that the wealthy lover had proposed for her hand, and was only waiting for permission to urge his suit, that he was coming on the following day, and he hoped she would receive him in a befitting manner, and consent to become his wife.

Kitty withstood her father with tears and entreaties, saying she could not marry a man she did not love, but he was angry and would not yield to her wish. Finally, however, he said he would give her until the next morning to consider and decide; but that if she refused to accept the offer he would disinherit her, that he would give her no more of his lands than she could crawl over.

The spirited Kitty appeared quite unaffected by her father's threat. She left him and sought her sainted mother's grave, where it was her custom to pray. There she wept, not that she grieved for the lands she must forfeit, but that her father should wish her to become the wife of a man for whom she had no regard.

It was in the twilight, and she lingered beside the grave. Suddenly, as she turned to go, she saw somebody at a distance coming towards her. At the same moment both hastened their footsteps and met clasping each other's hands. It was Roger, who had returned sooner than he had been expected, and there in that dim twilight, beside her mother's grave, they renewed their unspoken pledge which they had both so faithfully kept, and Kitty promised to wed no other but him.

On the following morning the young lady appeared at the breakfast-table in her riding-coat, which was com-

pletely covered with mud, and in great triumph told her father that she had spent the night crawling round a certain part of his estate, showing the mud in evidence.

The fond father was touched as well as delighted with the spirit she had displayed. He, too, had passed a sleepless night, and the morning had brought regret for his harshness, and sympathy for the young couple. He forgave her, and no more was heard of the wealthy lover. The two faithful ones were united. Roger took the name of Bitterleye and they lived happily together. Aunty Scotty and Sir Robert also lived to see and share their happiness, and to love and cherish their children.

There are fields in the neighbourhood which still bear the name of 'Crawl Meadows.'

Bitterley.

The family of Bitterley is of great antiquity. John of Bitterley is mentioned in the records of the 'Palmers' Gild.' To the liberality of this gild Ludlow is said to have owed some of its best institutions. Its existence extended over several centuries. There is an ancient legend relating to it in the 'History of Ludlow.' The following extract is from the *Transactions of the Archæological Society:*

'Know now, present and future men, that since the Lord Edward, King of England, had, by his letters patent, lately granted and given licence to Richard of Orleton, William his brother, and *John of Bitterley*, to give and assign to the Warden and Community, of the Gild of Palmers of Lodelowe, divers lands and tenements and rents, which are held of him in capite—as more plainly appears in his letters

patent—for the maintenance of Chanteries, in the Church of St. Lawrence of Lodelowe, to endure forever.'

Leland mentions the Palmers' Gild in Ludlow.

In 1165 the national record, Liber Niger, represents Roger de Eskelot, a cadet of the family of Eskelot or Scotot, as holding a knight's fee, by new feoffment under De Lacy. That fee was Bitterley; for, from the Chartulary we learn that shortly afterwards Roger de Scotot gave four shillings rent out of his mill of 'Butterleg' to Haghmond Abbey, Hugh de Lacy confirming the grant.

The Scotots afterwards dropped their original name, and took the name of the place over which they were mesne lords. Thus, in 1255, Sir Stephen Butterley held three hides in Bitterley of Dame Margery de Lacy, by service of one knight, and did suit to Overs Hundred. Sir Stephen's descendants long continued lords of the Vill. The Church dates back to Saxon times.

Nicolas' Taxation, in 1291, returns the Chantry of Butterleye, in the Deanery of Ludlowe.

Roger, parson of Butterleye, is mentioned about 1205. A fine was levied (4 Edward III., m. 35) between Thomas Cotes and Sir Robert Butterleye, Knight, of Bromfield. In 2 Richard II. the lands of Sir Robert Butterleye in Bromfield were either extended or put to sale for payment of his debts.

'The Story of Bolas' is now almost forgotten at Uppington. It will be remembered that the name of Hugh de Bolas is mentioned among those which are of frequent occurrence in the affairs relating to the daughters of Roger de Mussen. It seems to have continued quite unchanged and probably unsullied until the early part of the eighteenth century.

In 1706 Robert Bolas occupied a house in the centre of the village and is named as Churchwarden. He held land in the parish of Wellington.

In 1721 his son, Robert Francis Bolas, lived with his widowed mother. This unfortunate man went to steal wheat from the 'Tithe Barn,' situated between Uppington and Wroxeter. Whilst he was preparing to carry off the wheat in his sack he was disturbed by the owner, whose name was Whitcomb. Bolas, who was a man of great strength, seized a bill-hook which hung on the wall, and overcame both Whitcomb and a man named Matthews who had come to his assistance, and made his escape. Matthews was found dead in the barn, but Whitcomb was only stunned and he lived to tell the tale. Until about 1830, when the barn was taken down, marks of the fatal fray were shown on a beam which Bolas had struck with the bill-hook.

Bolas was brought to trial. It was a case which in later times would no doubt have been proved manslaughter, but he was convicted of murder and condemned to death. He was hanged at Shrewsbury, and afterwards exposed upon a gibbet on the side of the high-road opposite the village.

It is said that during his imprisonment at Shrewsbury, whilst awaiting his trial, he had very sanguine hopes of an acquittal, and was wont to express a wish that his 'troublesome times were over, that he might go home and get in his barley.' This wish of the wretched man became a proverb in the neighbourhood.

After the death of her unfortunate son, Mrs. Bolas, his widowed mother, found great sympathy among her neighbours, and was well cared for. Soon afterwards the family seem to have disappeared from Uppington.

Matthews was buried at Wellington, in that part of the churchyard which was disturbed when the railway-station was made. On his tombstone was the following inscription :

JUNE, 1722.
HERE LIETH THE BODY OF
WILLIAM MATTHEWS,
WHO
WAS BARBAROUSLY MURDERED BY
ROBERT BOLAS.

A ghastly story used to be told of some young men who were spending an evening together at the Horsehoe Inn, about half a mile from the gibbet where Bolas was exposed.

It is said that they began to talk of his unhappy death. Some pitied, others condemned the culprit, and they ended in challenging each other to go and ask Bolas how he felt. One of them said at last that he would do it.

It was a dark winter evening and very cold. The young man did not observe that, whilst he was buttoning on his overcoat, one of his companions had slipped out before him. This thoughtless young man, only intending a joke, ran on and concealed himself behind the hedge where the gibbet was placed, and when his courageous friend came near and in a friendly way, as agreed, said, 'Well, Bolas, how are you to-night?' he answered in a tremulous voice, 'Very cold and chilly.'

The young man turned and fled. Rushing in among his companions he fell down unconscious, and though he recovered consciousness he became a lunatic. It is said that horses still shy when passing the spot where the gibbet stood.

The gibbet-post, having done its horrible service, was re-

moved and used as a gate-post in the Bines Lane, between Uppington and Uckington.

The writer of these pages has a distinct recollection of the post, which was left standing in the hedge long after the gate was removed, and of galloping past it if out riding in the shades of the evening. It was white with age and had a number of nails on it which appeared to have been hammered down. It was not taken away until it became quite decayed.

One of the most popular persons in Uppington at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries was 'Tailor Lockley.' He kept seven 'prentices and several journeymen. He wore powder and a pigtail, and carried on an extensive business.

Newspapers in those days were few, but stage coaches were more numerous than now, and every morning several passed along the great Watling Street high-road. Mr. Lockley used to meet them and take a drive for the purpose of learning the latest news. It was his custom to drive as far as Atcham or Heygate, as his fancy chose. His good-humour, tact, and pleasant stories made him a welcome guest in the evenings among his neighbours, to play whist and discuss the news he had gathered from the Nimrods of the morning. The boys in the village used to struggle for a seat behind Mr. Lockley in church, delighting to play with his pigtail.

Many old stories used to be told of the Haden family—Captain Haden, R.N., was a native of Shropshire, born at Rowley Regis. When in service in the Royal Navy he was in a battle in which Sir William Pulteney was also engaged, and saved his life in a skirmish. As a recompense and in

token of his gratitude Sir William gave him a residence at Uppington, and made him his representative on the estate. Mrs. Haden was a lady whose arrival in the village made a great sensation. She wore a flaxen wig and sometimes a high turban on her head, and had three lapdogs, Tan and Fan and Spot. The first pianoforte known in Uppington was brought there for her from London, and she is said to have been a good musician.

The farmers were expected to entertain the lapdogs by inviting them to bark (not bite) at the rats and mice when they removed their stacks. Their mistress always accompanied her pets and shared the entertainment.

In January, 1784, Sir William Pulteney, then lord of Uppington, came to visit Captain Haden. All the village turned out on horseback to meet and escort him from the high-road.

The Bell Lane was, at that time, such a bad road that Sir William, being afraid that his coach would be upset, descended from it for safety and walked; but being persuaded that this would be an undignified way of entering 'the town,' where much preparation had been made for his reception, and being assured that there would be no danger, he returned to his coach and arrived safely. In the evening the neighbours were invited to meet Sir William at a great dinner, given by Captain Haden, in honour of the event. Venison was sent for the occasion from Attingham, and the Hills were among the guests.

Captain Haden died in 1796, after having lived over thirty years at Uppington. After her husband's death Mrs. Haden and her three daughters continued to live at Uppington. The eldest married Dr. Jones, of Wellington. After the

death of Mrs. Haden, the doctor and his family lived in the house at Uppington, where he carried on his medical practice for some years. He was a pupil of the eccentric and celebrated Dr. Darwin, of Shrewsbury. He died at Wellington. Captain Haden and John Boore, who died in 1790, were cousins.

CHAPTER IX.

UPPINGTON CHURCH.

'But spare its relics—let no busy hand
Deface the scene, already how defaced!'
BYRON.

A DESCRIPTION of Uppington Church, published 1880, by a member of the Archæological Society, gives an idea of the ancient fabric as it stood before the restoration of it (1885):

'The church has four round-headed Norman windows, and four Perpendicular ones. The latter bear unmistakable evidences of mediæval design and workmanship. The east and west windows have well-pointed arches. The heading of the east window is formed of two stones only, the openings being pierced in them. In the centre of this window, on ancient painted glass, are the arms of the Newport family.* The windows are inserted midway in the walls, which are three feet thick, with good moulding outside. The walls are of red sandstone, fine in colour and condition for the artist. The south door has a hood inside of the semicircular form, but the arch outside seems to betray a slight point at the apex. It is possible that the door may have had a lost part supplied in the time of James II., or

* See Chapter XII., 'Wroxeter,' Newport family.

later. The porch, which is of brick, the arch and face of gray stone, bears the date

'"1678 F. B."

The crowning interest of the fabric is the chancel arch, with a seven-foot opening, turned perfectly plain in the wall, without mouldings. What may be described as a string, carried right and left of the arch to the outer walls, has on it, in length of two feet or so, eight or nine different Norman ornaments. One, to the north, I have not seen before. A very pretty one is the sunk star. The string is at the base of the arch, in place of capitals, and in the soffit of the arch is a projection of four or five inches, corners square, lower edge badly chamfered. It is possible that this ornament might have been added in Norman times, on a surface originally plain. The font is an octagonal basin of same date as Perpendicular windows, the sides formed with eight shields on octagonal shafts, supported on a square base. Such are the salient points of interest.

'In its rural seclusion—to the antiquary, the educated, the artist, the poet—Uppington is a treasure to come upon, a gem, a delight! In such ancient fanes the fabric tells, in its sculptured stones, of a race or of art epochs, and of art changes, by the diversified forms in doors and windows, arches and mouldings, which generations of successive centuries have left behind. Such things are beyond price; they are a sacred charge, a heirloom, to be handed on unhurt. In such places they who minister are surrounded by a cloud of witnesses, spiritual and real! Outside, the lichened walls and worn threshold tell of Time's touch and man's devotion. Inside, the sculptured stone, in its grace and beauty, tells of

UPPINGTON CHURCH BEFORE IT WAS RESTORED, 1885.

love, while all around the memorials of the quiet dead, "The storied urn and animated bust," are eloquent of the past, eloquent of life ended—death—eloquent of God!'*

Uppington Church, as above described, before its restoration (1885) was of the eleventh century, and one of the first Norman churches built in England. There are evidences of a previous Saxon church.

A Roman altar was discovered beneath the foundation of the east wall when the church was restored. The pillar or principal part of the altar, upon which are devices, now lies inside the hollow yew-tree in the churchyard. The marble slabs upon which it is supposed to have stood have disappeared, no interest having been taken in this ancient and valuable relic. This altar is similar to that which was found a few years ago (1890) at Binchester, near Bishop's Auckland. The flat stones at the base were also the same.

About forty years ago the remains of a Roman villa were discovered not far from the church. The pavements that were dug out were used, it is said, to repair the roads. Where, oh where, are the 'antiquaries, the educated, the poets,' of whom the archæologist writes?

The following is a description of a Roman villa:

1. The ostium (porch), leading to the atrium (hall); chambers on each side.

2. Atrium with a fountain called the impluvium in the centre, surrounded by cubicula (sleeping rooms for friends), was open to the sky. It was terminated by the tablinum (library) and smaller triclinium (dining-room), in a line with the ostium, and led to—

* *Archæologist*, 1880.

3. The peristylium, or large court, with Doric columns, surrounded by cubicula.

One large room, opening from the court, was the greater triclinium for state occasions.

In 1840, when the Rev. J. Meredith became the Incumbent, the church was in a very neglected condition. Through his exertions it was thoroughly repaired, the high pews were removed, a vestry made, and for the first time it was heated by a stove, which was placed in the aisle and had descending flues.

Bagshaw's 'Directory of Shropshire,' published 1851, says: 'The church has now a tasteful and orderly appearance.'

The Rev. J. Meredith, by causing the walls to be cleared of plaster and whitewash, discovered the rare Norman ornaments described by the *Archæologist*, and he was equally delighted with them. During his long ministry the services in the small, well-kept church were conducted with great order and reverence, and were always well attended. He was a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford, a scholar, a man of high religious principles, a good Anglican Churchman, and a faithful pastor, living in charity with all men. He was Incumbent of the parish forty years, and the last Headmaster of Dorrington Free Grammar School.* He died in 1880, and is interred in Uppington churchyard with his two sons, Alfred and Charles, whom he survived. A marble cross marks the graves.

The unsafe state of the walls made it necessary that the ancient church should be completely restored, and in 1885, through the liberality of his Grace the late Duke of Cleve-

* See 'Gronow Owen,' Chapter XI.

PRESENT CHURCH, UPPINGTON.

land, this was substantially done. His gift was expended in the architectural requirements and new sittings. A good peal of six bells* and an organ have been given by local subscribers.

A handsome carved oak reredos has been erected by the congregation to the memory of the late Vicar, the Rev. J. Meredith. The village of Aston having been joined to the parish of Uppington, more sittings were required. The nave has been lengthened, and a three-light mediæval window added on either side. A vestry and an organ-chamber, both of very small dimensions, have been built on the north side of the church. The ancient doorway on this side has been restored. On the stone heading there is a rude scroll with a dragon,† which was probably the decoration of an earlier Saxon church. This door not being used, the church chest‡ is placed across it. The date carved on the front of the chest is

C. R. B. 1724. W.

Ancient churches in reconstruction must undergo certain changes, but that they should suffer degradation is much to be regretted. Such a 'gem' as Uppington Church, as described by the *Archæologist*, might so easily have been made perfect in its resetting; but 'the crowning interest of the fabric' is gone: the original Norman chancel arch has been desecrated by being raised. The ancient masonry was perfect as when built more than 800 years ago, and it was one of the oldest and most interesting Norman arches of its kind in the kingdom.

* See Note 7, 'Bells.' † See 'Dragons,' Chapter XVI.
‡ See Note 8, 'Church Chests.'

The west window, a very handsome one for a small church, has, with its ancient corbels, been carefully replaced; but a narrow arch, supplemented by *a red curtain* to conceal the performance of the bell-ringers, has been built in front of it, and hides it from view.

Terribly disfiguring masses of rusted iron, in the shape of hot-water pipes, meet the eye. A huge reading-desk, placed in the nave, leaves no fit space for the beautiful lectern, and tombstones, some of them of quite recent date, have been brought from the churchyard to pave the aisle.

Dr. Cox, who has written so much, and so well, on parish churches, says: 'The effacing or removing of the memorials of the dead, whenever it can be avoided, should in all cases be resisted.'

'The village church among the trees' has by the reckless felling of the beautiful elms been left entirely exposed; not one has been left to cast a shadow upon the tower. The venerable yew-tree* has not escaped mutilation, but it still flourishes in spite of the merciless treatment it has from time to time received.

In the early part of this century an ingenious carpenter in the village was allowed to cut out solid wood from its massive branches, of which he made boxes and tea-caddies. It has recently undergone further desecration in the way of lopping and prunings. Could a voice come forth from that hollow trunk, how much it might tell us of bygone days when it stood there first, a mere sapling, when our fore-

* Its circumference one foot from the ground is twenty-four feet ten inches; four feet from ground, twenty-five feet. Twelve persons can stand inside the trunk.

fathers worshipped at the pagan altar which now lies in its hollow trunk, after having been buried for over a thousand years! It could tell us how the light of Christianity dawned, bringing 'peace and good will among men.' It could tell us of those times of which

'Mystic Merlin harp'd and gray-haired Llywarch sang.'

In the early times, when bows and arrows were the principal arms men used, yew-trees were often planted in churchyards and sacred precincts, because there they were protected, and were common property. When they were of sufficient growth and strength they were cut down and distributed. Those of crooked growth, not being available for making bows, were left to grow, and this is why yew-trees of great age and immense growth are found in churchyards and in the vicinity of monasteries.

Poets have often sung of the old yew-trees and the bows that grew thereon. The following lines, 'A Song of the Bow,' are by Conan Doyle:

What of the bow?
The bow was made in England,
Of true wood, of yew wood,
The wood of English bows:
So men who are free
Love the old yew-tree,
And the land where the yew-tree grows!

What of the shaft?
The shaft that was cut in England,
A long shaft, a strong shaft,
Barbed and trim and true:

So we'll all drink together,
To the gray-goose feather,
And the land where the gray-goose flew!'

Ancient trees used to be held in great reverence. Dean Stanley, in his 'Notes of Localities visited with the Prince of Wales in the Spring of 1862,' gives a very interesting account of the terebinth (ilex), which, being the most massive and majestic of the native trees of Palestine, is, he says, 'legitimately, but not quite correctly, rendered by the English parallel of "the oak."'

The terebinth at Hebron is mentioned by Josephus ('Wars,' IV., ix. 7) 'as a gigantic tree, said to be as "old as the Creation," and as that under which the patriarch Abraham pitched his tent.' Pictures were hung upon its branches, illustrative of Abraham's life. Among them his entertainment of the angels was commemorated. Christians, Jews and Arabs assembled to worship under it, each honouring the sacred tree by performing their own rites beneath its branches. Constantine, in the fourth century, destroyed the pictures and devices.

'The Oak of Abraham,' continues the Dean, 'which stands about a mile from Hebron, though not able to lay claim to the same antiquity as the long-vanished terebinth, yet seems to have shared its traditional honours. It is still flourishing, though the glory of its spreading branches has been diminished.

In the winter of 1856 a heavy snow fell in Jerusalem, and lay for many days. The accumulation upon Abraham's Oak was so great that the weight caused one of the finest boughs to give way. So great was the reverence of the surrounding peasants for the tree that the event caused terror and awe among them ; and, owing to a tradition that any person who should cut or maim the oak would lose his firstborn son, some difficulty was experienced in finding

hands to cut up the timber for transportation to Jerusalem. Seven camels were laden with the wood from the one branch.

The Dean says, 'It is still in a green old age,' and adds pathetically: 'Not seldom in our own churchyards the aged yew and the aged church stand side by side, and as we glance from one to the other we hardly know which of the two monuments of the past is the most venerable, the most affecting.' Let us hope that succeeding generations will have more reverence for the old yew-tree in Uppington churchyard, and protect it more carefully than their ancestors have done.

Near to the restored church a new Sunday-school room has been built. At the other end of the village a schoolroom was built about 1820, by Mr. Scott, then agent to the Duke of Cleveland. Miss Scott, his daughter, assisted by others, taught in the Sunday-school, and on week-days a blind woman named Betty Stainer had the use of the room for a day-school. She had always a great number of pupils, was a most excellent and clever instructress, and greatly respected. Her brother, Edward Stainer, who was also quite blind, lived with her, and he carefully cultivated his garden without assistance. This schoolroom was appropriated by Mr. Scott's successor for offices, and eventually used as a laundry. A new vicarage was built in the village when the church was restored (1885).

Previous to the Reformation of the English Church no Incumbent of Uppington is recorded. It continued to be a part of the parish of Wroxeter, but ecclesiastically distinct. One of the four priests who were attached to the Collegiate

church of Wroxeter would probably serve the church at Uppington.

There was formerly a clock in the church tower; the last repairs of it mentioned in the parish records were made in 1728. A large stone, unhewn, with an iron staple in it, was the clock weight, and this curious relic, which was preserved by the late John Boore, is now in a chest in the belfry. There was also a sundial in the churchyard, and a lychgate at the entrance. The last repairs of this gate are mentioned in 1734.

In the early part of the nineteenth century Uppington Church was twice struck by lightning, the second time in 1839, when the tower was shattered.

The earliest Incumbent of Uppington of whom we have any record was:

1. Thomas Markham, July 27, 1674. Patron, Lord Francis Newport.

2. Francis Latouche succeeded him December 7, 1716. He was appointed Minister of Uppington and Master of the Free Grammar School of Uppington and Wroxeter. Patron, the Earl of Bradford. Francis Latouche died February 23, 1738, and was buried close to the east end of Uppington Church. On his tomb were the following words:

'HERE LIES THE BODY OF FRANCIS LATOUCHE
1738.'

When the church was restored in 1840, this and several other tombstones were removed.

3. Edward Tipton, May 25, 1738. Appointed by the will and testament of the Earl of Bradford. Devisee, Mrs. Ann Smith. Edward Tipton died August 3, 1749 (buried at Leighton).

4. Dr. John Douglas, M.A., 1749, succeeded as Master of Donington School and Incumbent of Uppington.*

5. Gronow Owen,† 1749, was appointed by Dr. John Douglas as his deputy at the school and at Uppington.

6. Dr. J. Douglas receiving promotion, he was succeeded by John Greaves, 1768. Patron, William Pulteney, Esq.‡

7. James Cope succeeded him 1769; died 1793.

8. Daniel Dewar, 1793.

9. John Geary, M.A., 1806; died 1838.

10. John Scott, 1838.

11. John Meredith, M.A., 1840; died 1880.

12. Samuel Hobson, 1880.

The following is from Bacon's 'Liber Regis':

'*Uppington, Holy Trinity.*

'Corbet Kynaston nominated to it 1734.'

The following inscription appears on a piece of Communion plate (flagon):

'THIS PLATE
IS PRESENTED FOR THE SACRED USE OF
UPPINGTON CHURCH
BY
M. B. 1731.'

Records.

The following records are copied from an old parish book:

The disbursements of Francis Boycot, churchwarden and overseer of the parish of Uppington, from Easter, 1692, to Easter, 1693.

* See 'Dr. Douglas,' Chapter XI.

† See 'Gronow Owen,' Chapter XI. ‡ See 'Pulteney.

Paid for bread and wine for ye Sacrament at Whitsuntide	00	02	01
Paid for form of prayer datd 19 May	00	00	06
Paid for bread and wine for Sacrament	00	02	01
Pd for another form of prayer Decr 17	00	01	00
Pd for bread and wine for Christmas day	00	02	01
Pd Mr Hazeldine for cleanin ye clock for ye year	00	02	06
Pd Henry Archer ye glazier for mending ye windows	00	01	08
Pd for wine on Palm Sunday & Easter day	00	05	03
Pd Edwd Illege for cleanin ye Church, 1 ring in do.	00	13	04
Pd him for keeping ye Clock	00	02	00
Pd Joan Illege for washing surplis agst Xmas & Easter	00	02	00
Pd for this book to keep ye Parish Accounts	00	05	00
Pd for a form of prayer for a Fast	00	01	00
Pd total for Church	02	08	06

(Signed by) J. KYNASTON,
JOHN LACON,*
ROBERT CORBETT.

Some of the names in the village at this time were: Francis Boycot, Robert Bolas, Richard Boore, John Carter, Andrew Hotchkiss, Joseph Shakeshaft, Widow Smith.

At this time there was a celebration of Holy Communion five times in the year: on Easter Sunday, Whitsuntide,

* There were Lacons here in the fourteenth century, sometimes written Lacke, Lak, Laken and Lacon. Richard de Lake in 1200 married Gilian, sister of Ralph Sandford, and adopted his arms. Bolas and Corbett are also among the names of importance at the same date.

between Whitsuntide and Christmas (probably Michaelmas), Christmas Day, and Palm Sunday.

1694.—Charles Horton is paid for a new 'Beelrope.'

1699.—Edward Illege is deputy churchwarden, and one item in his account is:

Given to several Petitioners with lett^{rs} of Request 00 06 06

1702 to 1703.—Joseph Shakeshaft is churchwarden and overseer.

Clerk's wages same as for many years . . 1 3 4

This year is paid for:

10 Ellees of Hollan for a surplis at 4 shillings per Ellee 2 0 0

and for making it 7 0

Washing of ye same 1 0

1704.—Mention is made of the 'Witchleys.' William Dorset, Francis Hotchkiss and Thos. Carter pay 'lewnes' for them. Item: 'for Church New bellrope 2s. & buckle for ye bell clapper 1s.'

1706.—Robert Bolas churchwarden.

Items: Common-prayer book . . . 2 0

Clock rope 1 0

Proclamation & prayer-book . . . 1 6

1709.—Thos. Carter churchwarden.

Items: p^{d} for bell rope . . . 2 0

For book & proclamation for the victory of Audenard 1 6

For another Booke for ye taking of Lille . 1 6

For an order for the alteration of the prayer . 1 0

Edward Illege was clerk from 1692 to 1715, his salary £1 3s. 4d., 10s. of which seems to have been for attending to the clock.

1734.—Repair of Lychgate* colours & workmanship 5 0

1737.—An item in the accounts is:

Ben Illege's lodgings to Will. Turner . . 01 05 00
For conveying his goods . . . 00 03 00

1738.—Joseph Illege is paid 1s. for a fox. In this year is the last mention of clock repairs: 'item, 1s.'

Bells are first mentioned in 1727. At this time plates, nails and brasses for bells are mentioned, but no account of cost given. Item, same year, two new bell-ropes, 4s. Of the two bells one was much larger than the other. They were removed in 1885, when the present tower was built.

1746.—Rich[d] Owen is 'paid 2s. to stop the pigeons out of the Church,' and '1s. for clay to do it with.'

WILLIAM BARKLEY C.W.

Until after the middle of the eighteenth century Holy Communion was celebrated on Good Friday as well as on Easter Sunday, also on Palm Sunday. Fast-days were held three or four times in the year, also thanksgiving services. Special forms of prayer were used.

1763.—Item: Rich[d] Poole is paid for putting up Dial-post and colouring it, 1s. 6d.

Will[m] Williams for a foxes head, 1s.

JOHN CARTER Ch. W.

* Last mention of lychgate.

1778.—P^d 2s. for a Thanksgiving prayer for the taking of Louisbourg.

P^d for a Form of prayer for a Fastday and for a Thanksgiving prayer for ye Distemper ceasing among the cattle.

JOHN BAKER Ch. W.

1779.—Mending the Flagon . . . . o 1 o
JOHN BAKER C. W.

From the same parish book the following briefs and letters of request, in the parish of Uppington, are selected:

For Ledbury in ye County of Hereford, Novr 20, 1692 . . . . . o 4 00

For Clayford in ye County of Devon, Dec 11, 92 o 4 0.3

Juli 1, 1694. Collected upon a letter of request for Ruband Nock of ye parish of Shinton in ye County of Salop ye summe of . . o 3 6

THOS. MARKHAM Vic.
ANDREW HOTCHKISS Ch. Warden.

April 21, 1699.—Collected upon a Brief for ye distressed Protestants in Piedmont and other places beyond seas, the sum of . . . o 10 7

THO. MARKHAM Minr.
W. BOYCOT Warden.

Sepr 9th, 1704.—Collected for ye Protestants of ye Principality of Orange, driven from their country by the orders of the french King ye sum of three shillings eightpence halfpenny . . o 3 8½

March 14th, 1707.—Collected for loss by fire of three thousand eight hundred pound & up-

wards, in Charles Street in Westminster ye sum of three shillings & fivepence . . . 0 3 5

1714.—Collected for Dorchester in ye County of Dorset 0 4 2

For Ruthin in ye County of Denbigh . . 0 4 5

1715.—Collected for St. Peter's Church in Chester 0 2 9

1716, April 17th.—Collected for ye Reformed Episcopal Churches in Great Poland and Polish Prussia 0 12 5

1756.—40 urchins are mentioned, 4d. each being paid for them by John Carter, churchwarden.

It has not been thought necessary to give more than a few of these interesting records from the old parish books.

In 1839 the Church was struck by lightning. £104 was spent in church repairs, of which sum the Marquis of Cleveland contributed £25. The remainder was made up by rates. The further restorations made in 1840 have been already referred to. In 1839 church repairs and other items are recorded, as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Bread and wine for Sacrament . . .	0	11	9
Pd for new Communion cloths . .	3	12	7
Wroxeter Church rates from 25th March 1838 .	3	13	8
Straw mats for kneeling round Communion rails	0	8	6
Powel, tailor, for covering them . .	0	7	1
Mr Lewis for cloth to cover them . . .	1	9	8
For making brown holland cloths to cover Communion table, desk and pulpit . .	0	1	6
16 doz. sparrows	0	2	8

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Bevington for cleaning churchyard	0	2	6
Quarries and bricks for stove	0	19	6
Enock Davis for carriage of do.	0	4	0
John Hughes for carriage of stone	0	2	6
Powis, mason's bill	2	6	8
Ann George, for cleaning church	0	3	0
Coal for stove (1 ton), 9s. 3d., carriage, 3s.	0	12	3
Mr Houlston's bill for new Bible	3	13	6
Morris for stocking up and setting quick	0	13	0
Clerk's salary	6	2	1
Postage of letter, 1s., candles, 4d.	0	1	4
Brush	0	0	8
Carline's bill for stove	10	10	6
Glazier's bill	0	16	0
Blacksmith's do.	0	3	1

JOHN BOORE C. W.

March 25th, 1844.

At a meeting of the parishioners of Uppington, it was resolved unanimously that a subscription of £5 each should be made to defray a portion of the expenses attendant on repairing and repewing the Church.

C. STAINER C. W.

CHAPTER X.

LORDS OF UPPINGTON.

'Ces tombeaux sont tombés,
Et ces superbes rois,
Sous leur chute,
Sont morts une seconde fois.'

'THE memories of great men pass away, even of those who, both by their actions and by their monuments, have intended to immortalize their names. Of many, at least, time has left no trace. Others have no record, except in some ancient ballad or in local tradition.

We learn from the accounts of the ancient Lords of Uppington that from time to time grants of the lands were made to them by the Norman kings, and that again and again these lands were confiscated and redistributed. It was not until the laws of the land had become established that properties were inherited and retained by right of birth or of purchase.

In 1292 Richard de la Buri, great-grandson of Adam and Alice Cherleton, held a piece of land at Uppington (supposed to be Charlton's Hill, etc.) in capite of the King, Edward I. It was shown at the assizes, that same year, how Roger de Mussen had once held Opetone by the service of the sparrow-hawk, and how the said service was

then changed to an annual rent of four shillings. The King had granted the seigneury of all that was insured by the sparrow-hawk to Robert Burnel, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

William de la Sale, Richard Corbront and Richard de la Buri, were then the only representatives of the original co-heiresses, but it was not until some years later that the interests of the family of Richard de la Buri were alienated from Uppington. The two unfortunate Margeries, widow and daughter of Richard de la Buri, who died 1339, surrendered the slender means left them to Sir Roger Corbet of Hadley; and in 1344 his son, Richard de la Buri, yields to the same Sir Roger all his rights in the lands and tenements which had belonged to his late father at Opetone and Harinton.

In 1294 Philip, son of the above-mentioned Robert Burnel, was Lord of Opetone. He married the daughter of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and was succeeded by his son, named Edward. Dying without issue in 1454, Edward Burnel was succeeded by William, Lord Lovel, son of his sister Maud, who had married Lord Lovel,* his father, by whom she had three sons, William, John and Francis. She married secondly John de Handlo, and had a son named Nicholas, who took the name of Burnel, and was summoned to Parliament by that name as Baron Burnel, and succeeded to the property. His only son died before him, and leaving only daughters, the barony fell into abeyance. Francis Lovel raised an army of 3,000 to 4,000 men against King Henry VII., but, not having confidence in his soldiers,

* An ancient ballad was formerly sung at Uppington, in which Lord Lovel was said to have 'mounted a milk-white steed.'

withdrew and took refuge in Flanders, where he was protected by the Duchess of Burgundy. His army submitted to the King, and his estates were confiscated.

The Lovels were descended from Robert, Count d'Ivry, in Normandy, who came to England in 1066 with the Conqueror. His father was called Lupus (Wolf), from his violent temper. Robert, his son, was called Lupellus (Little Wolf), which was softened to Lupel, hence Lovel. Hugh Lupus* was one of William's fiercest barons. He was Earl of Chester, and his formidable name is still retained in the Grosvenor family.

Henry VIII. granted Uppington to Jasper Hatfield, at whose death it again reverted to the Crown, and the King granted it to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who married Mary, daughter and heiress of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. From them the estates descended to the Newport family, Earls of Bradford. There are monuments of the Newport family in Wroxeter Church, and their arms, painted on the east window of Uppington Church, have been already mentioned.

Sir Francis Newport of High Arcall, who died 1623, married Beatrice, daughter of Rowland Lacon of Willey. Their son, Sir Richard Newport, was raised to the peerage in 1642, as Baron Newport of High Ercoll, and was Comptroller of the King's Household. This family suffered for their loyalty, and saw the ruins of their ancient mansion, where their ancestors had long lived and had been renowned for their hospitality.

Magdalen Newport was mother of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who was born at Eyton, 1583, and of George

* See 'Ordericus.'

Herbert, the poet, born 1593. After the Newports Sir William Pulteney became Lord of Uppington, and the Marquis of Cleveland succeeded him.

Pulteney.

The Pulteneys of Misterton, Leicestershire, were a family of ancient descent. Sir William Pulteney was one of the leading members of the House of Commons in the time of Charles II. He married Grace, daughter of Sir John Corbett, of Stoke, and had issue two sons: (1) William, his heir; (2) John;* and two daughters (1) Catherine, m. Charles Heron; (2) Ann, m. Charles, Duke of Cleveland, son of Charles I. by Lady Barbara Villiers, daughter of Viscount Grandison, who was created Duchess of Cleveland before the birth of her son, born in 1662.

Sir William, his heir, married, first, Mary Floyd; second, Arabella, daughter of George, Earl of Berkeley. By the former he had four sons, William, Henry, Corbett, Thomas; by the latter, two daughters, Arabella and Elizabeth. He was the popular Minister of the two first sovereigns of the House of Brunswick, and leader of the Opposition in George II.'s time.

Sir Robert Walpole, jealous of the great popularity of his gifted rival, wrote to the King, asking him to give Sir William a peerage. In this celebrated letter Walpole says: 'If your Majesty can bring him to accept a coronet, it will be all over with him. The changing multitude will cease to have any confidence in him,' etc.

Pulteney was created Earl of Bath, Baron of Heydon,

* Father of Daniel, grandfather of Frances, who married William Johnstone, and became Countess of Bath. She was a Court beauty.

co. York, Viscount Pulteney of Wrington, Somerset, July 14, 1742.* Leaving no male issue, his honours became extinct, and his brother, General Henry Pulteney, inherited his estates. He was succeeded, 1765, by Frances, daughter of Daniel, only son of John, uncle of the Earl of Bath.

Frances Pulteney married William Johnstone, who took the name of Pulteney and became fifth Baronet. Their only daughter assumed the name of Pulteney, and was created Baroness of Bath, 1792, with limitation to the barony in her male issue. In 1803 she was made Countess of Bath, with the same limitation. She married General Sir James Murray, and he also took the name of Pulteney.

The Countess of Bath died 1808, and her title became extinct. She bequeathed the whole of her personalty, nearly £1,000,000, to Mrs. Fawcett, wife of John Fawcett, Esq., of Northwood Park, Hants, and daughter of Sir Richard Sutton, Bart.

Mrs. Fawcett was the divorced wife of Dean Markham, of York, by whom she had a large family. One of the Dean's ancestors was Vicar of Uppington. These Fawcetts took the name of Pulteney, and had two sons.

The lands in this part of Shropshire which William the Conqueror gave to his favourite followers from Normandy, Roger Montgomerie, Pantulf FitzAlan, Warine, and others, were, in course of time, divided and subdivided, as in the case of Roger de Mussen's heirs; and during several centuries these numerous landed proprietors lived sometimes in peace and sometimes in strife with each other, until their

* Burke's 'Extinct Peerage.'

lands were again absorbed and united under the great lords of later times, who have continued to add field to field until, at the present time, some of them hold as many lordly manors as did the Norman barons of the olden times.

CHAPTER XI.

DISTINGUISHED MEN CONNECTED WITH UPPINGTON.

Dr. Allestree.

Richard Allestree was born at Uppington, March, 1619. He was descended from a family of some antiquity—the Allestrees, of Allestree Hall, in Derbyshire.

In the preface to a volume of sermons by Dr. Richard Allestree, published at Oxford, 1684, it is stated that his father, Robert Allestree, 'owing to the estates of the family having been considerably diminished by the profusion of his ancestors, was reduced to serve Sir Richard Newport—afterwards created Lord Newport, Baron of Arcot—in the quality of steward; and being married, he left that service and settled at Uppington, near the Wrekin, in Shropshire.'

Richard Allestree received his early education at Donington School. At the age of seventeen he went to Oxford, and entered Christ Church as a Commoner under Richard Busby, who became famous as Dr. Busby, Master of Westminster School.

From his earliest childhood he is said to have had 'a strong impression of piety and of duties owed to God and man, which, next to Divine grace, may be ascribed to the strict and severe education he had from his father—a bless-

ing which cannot be sufficiently valued, and on which he reflected with a great sense of gratitude.'*

He attracted the notice of Dr. Fell, Dean of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York, and the young student 'applied himself to academical learning with uncommon improvement and success.' On taking his degree of B.A., he was chosen Moderator in Philosophy.

Richard Allestree was a staunch Royalist, and when, in 1641, the studies and the repose of the University were disturbed by the rebel armies, he, with other Oxford students, engaged in the King's service. They were supported by Sir John Byron.

Soon after, the rebels a second time entered Oxford, and forced a passage into the treasury of Christ Church. After much labour, they found nothing but a single groat (4d.), and a halter at the bottom of an old iron chest. Being enraged at this, they proceeded to the Deanery, where, having possessed themselves of as much plunder as they thought fit and having locked it in one of the rooms, they retired, intending to return on the following day for their booty. But they were again disappointed, for when they came, everything had been removed. The Dean and his family were absent, but the rebels discovered that Mr. Allestree had a key to the apartments, and that this key had been made use of. He was seized, and had not the Earl of Essex suddenly called away the forces, he probably would not have escaped their fury.

It was in the following year, August 25, 1642, that

* 'Allestree's Life,' by Dr. Fell, published 1685; republished 1848, by Masters, Aldgate, London.

King Charles I. made Nottingham the rendezvous of all his forces, when 'he issued a proclamation and made a solemn promise before the public, and in the presence of Almighty God, to protect the Church of England, and to live and die in the same, also to govern faithfully by the laws of the land.' Here Richard Allestree, accompanied by his neighbours at Uppington, met the King.

'The bulk of that generous train of nobility and gentry,' says Hume, 'who now attended the King in his distresses, breathed the spirit of liberty as well as loyalty; and in the hopes alone of his submitting to a legal and limited government were they willing in his defence to sacrifice their lives and their fortunes.'

At Shrewsbury the King collected money, and the University plate from Oxford was conveyed to him by Sir John Byron. Here he was joined by his two sons, Prince Charles, and James, Duke of York. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, sons of the Palatine, had also offered their services to the King. The former was at this time in command of a body of horse, which had been sent to Worcester to watch Essex, who was marching towards that city. When the Prince saw the cavalry of the enemy advancing towards the gates, he attacked and repelled them. Colonel Sandys, their leader, was slain, and his army routed (September 22, 1642). This, though an event of small importance, raised the reputation of the Royalists, and acquired for Prince Rupert a character for promptness and courage, qualities which he eminently displayed throughout the whole course of the war. The King's army now amounted to 10,000 horse and 4,000 foot.

Richard Allestree was present at the battle fought between

King Charles I. and the rebel army, under the command of the Earl of Essex, at Edgehill, Warwickshire, October 23, 1642. Finding, after the battle, that the King intended to march immediately to Oxford and to take up his residence at the Deanery, Christ Church, the care of which had, in the absence of the Dean, been left to Allestree, he hastened thither to prepare for his Majesty's reception.

Oxford was at this time entirely devoted to the King; but on his way there Allestree was taken prisoner by a party of horse, which was garrisoned at Broughton House by Lord Saye for the Parliament. His confinement, however, was of short duration, as the garrison surrendered to the King's forces. He now returned to his studies, and in the following spring (1643) took his degree of M.A. This year Allestree's life was endangered by his falling a victim to a pestilential epidemic which was prevalent at that time.

The exigency of the King's affairs again requiring the aid of his loyal subjects, a regiment was raised out of the Oxford students, who served as volunteers. In this regiment Allestree bore arms, 'being,' as it is said, 'forward on all occasions to put himself upon action, and thinking it no disgrace, though a Master of Arts and Fellow of a college, to perform the duties of a common soldier. Nor did he, in the meantime, neglect his studies—frequently holding his musket in one hand and book in the other, and making the watchings of a soldier the lucubrations of a student.'

He continued in the King's service until the end of the war between him and the Parliament, and then went into holy orders. Having no prospect of preferment, he became tutor to several young students, and had the office of Censor of the college. He took part in that signal test of loyalty

which the University of Oxford gave in its decree and judgment against the 'Solemn League and Covenant.' For this (July, 1648) he was proscribed and expelled the University.

Visitors were sent down by the Parliament, demanding submission to its authority. Those who complied were received into favour; all who refused were proscribed. This was done by writing their names upon a paper, which was affixed upon the door of St. Mary's Church, signifying also therein that 'such persons were by the authority of the visitors banished the University, and required to depart the precincts thereof within three days, upon pain of being taken for spies of war, and proceeded against accordingly.'

Richard Allestree now returned to Uppington, and soon afterwards was appointed Chaplain to the Hon. Francis Newport, High Arcol, son of Lord Richard Newport, who, 'to avoid the insolence of the conquering rebels,' was living on the Continent.

On the death of Lord Richard, in France, Allestree was sent over there 'to clear accounts and take care of that nobleman's effects.' Having despatched this affair satisfactorily, he returned to his chaplaincy, and remained in it until King Charles II. returned to England.

After the escape of the King at the Battle of Worcester (September 13, 1651), those who were entrusted with the affairs of the royal fugitives requiring an intelligent and faithful person to send over to France, whither he had escaped, Allestree was desired to undertake the journey. This he accomplished with success, and, receiving the King's despatches, returned to England.

He now joined some of his old friends at Oxford. There

he found Fell, who, like himself, had been banished the University, residing privately there, and performing the offices of the Church of England to the loyalists.

It will be remembered that at this time the usurper Cromwell had, by his 'Solemn League and Covenant,' done all in his power to obliterate Episcopacy and the Church of England, and to establish a Presbyterian form of Church government.

Allestree remained with his friends at Oxford until Sir Anthony Cope, said to have been 'a loyal young gentleman of considerable quality and fortune in Oxfordshire, prevailed upon him to live in his family.' Here he remained for several years, and during that time was frequently occupied in the affairs of the King, and in conveying messages to him from his friends.

After several successful journeys he was sent over, in the winter before the King's restoration, to Flanders. On his way back he was seized at Dover by a party of soldiers, but he had had the precaution to secure the safety of the letters of which he was the bearer by having conveyed them to a faithful hand. He was taken to London, examined, and sent a prisoner to Lambeth House, which was the common gaol for the King's friends. Here he contracted a dangerous illness. After some weeks he was set at liberty, and he returned to Oxfordshire. He went from there to Uppington, Shropshire, to visit his relations. At this time he visited Dr. Hammond at Westwood, Worcestershire.* His father, Robert Allestree, died 1653.

* As an instance of the little communication in those times between friends, it might be mentioned that, on arriving at Westwood, he met the funeral of his friend leaving the house.

Soon after the Restoration of King Charles II. he was made a Canon of Christ Church, and was appointed one of the lecturers of the city of Oxford. He set about 'repairing the injuries and decays that church and college had suffered during the usurpation, and endeavoured to instil principles of loyalty into the minds of the citizens, which had been poisoned by the contrary infusions of schismatical teachers.'

On October 3, 1660, he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and was appointed one of the King's Chaplains-in-Ordinary. A vacancy in the Divinity Chair occurring soon afterwards, he was chosen Regius Professor.

In 1665 the King conferred upon Dr. Allestree the Provostship of Eton College, vacant by the death of Dr. John Meredith.

'He found Eton in very ill condition, but by his prudence in the choice of learned, discreet, and diligent masters, by his interest in bringing young gentlemen and persons of quality thither, and by his great kindness to them when there, and taking care for the building of fit accommodation, in a few years the school grew into that great reputation and credit which it still retains.'

The following extract is from the account of his life in the preface to his sermons :

'He was a considerable benefactor to Eton College. The west side of the outer court was built from the ground, and finished at Dr. Allestree's single expense.* And whereas, at his coming to Eton, he found the society greatly in debt, by an ill custom, introduced by the pretended saints of the late times, who, at the year's end, divided whatever

* The Grammar School, over the west cloister, cost Dr. Allestree £1,500.—Wood.

money remained after the ordinary payments were made, incidental expenses being still thrown off to the future year, which, in time, grew to such a bulk as to endanger the college's becoming bankrupt; to remedy this evil, Dr. Allestree, by an exemplary retrenchment of his own dues, prevailed upon the society to do the like, insomuch that, within a few years, the college paid off above a thousand pound debt and expended above two thousand pounds in repairs [a great sum at that time].

'Another considerable service he did the college and school, as also King's College in Cambridge, whose seminary it is, was this: that whereas formerly the Fellowships of Eton were generally disposed of to persons of foreign education, the King was pleased, at the instance of Dr. Allestree—joined with the petition of the Provost and Fellows of King's College—to pass a grant under the Broad Seal, that, for the future, five of the seven Fellows should be such as had been educated at Eton and were Fellows of King's College, which has ever since took place.'

Dr. Allestree was Provost of Eton College from 1665 to 1680. In 1679, finding his health and sight impaired, suffering also from dropsy, he removed to London, in order to be near his physicians. 'In a private lodging he submitted to their treatment and advice, but medicines proved ineffectual.' 'He employed the intervals his sickness allowed him in attending to the offices of the Church and in his private devotions. In his last moments he received the Holy Eucharist with several of his most intimate friends, Dr. Busby and the Archbishop of York being of the number. He then took his last leave of them, and awaited the hour of his release with great serenity and composure.'

Some of his works were published at the Sign of the Bell in Chancery Lane, 1695. Forty sermons were printed at the Theatre, Oxford, 1684. 'The first eighteen sermons,' says his biographer, 'in this collection were originally published as a charitable account for his ingenious kinsman, Mr. James Allestree, the bookseller, who, by the Fire of London (1666) was reduced from a plentiful fortune to great poverty.'

Dr. Allestree, besides other assistance, bestowed upon him the copies of these eighteen sermons to make some reparation of his losses. 'Twenty more were added, being as many as were thought necessary to make a volume. The variety of auditors,' his biographer quaintly continues, 'for whom they were first designed, makes them not to be at all of the same fineness of spinning and closeness of texture; but in them all there will appear the same spirit of perseverance, rhetoric and ardent piety, whereby, "though dead, he yet speaketh."' Many of them were preached before the King on solemn occasions.*

His private papers, lectures, etc., he consigned to the Bishop of Oxford 'upon the inviolable trust that nothing should be published as a scheme of his, but to be made use of to serve any other design the Bishop should think fit.'

A handsome Bible, 'the gift of Dr. Allestree,' was used in Uppington Church until 1840, and is still in the charge of the churchwardens of the parish.

The following incident relating to Edward VI. is told by Dr. Allestree in his 'Cautions on Reading the Holy Scripture':

* His valuable and extensive library he gave before his death to the University at Oxford.

'It is reported of our excellent Prince, King Edward VI., that when in his council-chamber a paper that was called for happened to lie out of reach, and the person concerned to produce it took a Bible that lay by, and standing upon it, reacht down the paper, the King, observing what was done, ran himself to the place, and taking the Bible in his hands, kissed it and laid it up again.'

Dr. Allestree is said to have been the author of 'The Whole Duty of Man,' and a few years ago his authorship seemed to have been proved, but some doubts on this subject still exist.

Dorothy, wife of Sir John Pakington, was at one time supposed to have been the authoress of this celebrated book: a copy of it having been found in her handwriting led to this supposition; but it is believed that, being a devout woman, she copied it.

The celebrated Dr. Hammond, already mentioned, a valued friend of Dr. Allestree, resided for several years before he died at Westwood, near Droitwich, the seat of Sir John Pakington. During this time 'The Whole Duty of Man' was published. It is probable that the manuscript was entrusted by Dr. Allestree to his friend, and that during his (Dr. Hammond's) stay at Westbrook Lady Dorothy copied it.

Sir John Pakington, who was a staunch Royalist, and his wife, were great friends of Dr. Allestree. Sir John inherited the estates of his grandfather when only five years old. Lord Coventry became his guardian, and by his vigilant care he became a most accomplished gentleman, and married his guardian's daughter Dorothy.

Dr. Allestree died unmarried January 27, 1680, in the

sixtieth year of his age. He lies buried in the chapel at Eton College on the north side of the altar, and upon a marble monument is inscribed in Latin an epitaph which tells of his integrity, great piety, and many virtues, and of his great abilities, which he employed with so much success for the benefit of others:

'He was too liberal to have accumulated a fortune, and he declined the Episcopal dignity, thinking it a more worthy employment to defend, instruct, and adorn the Church than to govern it.'

Gronow Owen.

One of the celebrities connected with Uppington was the great Welsh Bard, Gronow Owen. He held the perpetual curacy of Uppington, and the head-mastership of Donington Free Grammar School, as deputy to Dr. Douglas, from 1748 to 1753. He was born in Anglesea, January 1 (12th, old style), 1722, of humble parentage. He had a ne'er-do-well father, but a mother, Sian Parri, whose never-failing affection guarded and guided him, and taught him the pure use of his native tongue. After the custom of her country, Sian Parri retained her maiden name.

Gronow Owen received his early education at the village of Llan Allgo, and it is said that his love of learning brought upon him the anger of his father, and that on one occasion he was defended from ill-usage by his mother.

Constant intercourse with the brothers Lewis, Richard, and William Morris had no doubt a great influence on his future life. It was especially Lewis Morris who took him by the hand. Pentrif-Eiriannell, the residence of the Lewis family, being near Gronow's humble home, his

visits there were very frequent, and he generally spent his Saturday afternoons with these kind friends. He was a special favourite with Mrs. Morris, and he mentions in one of his letters that she used to give him bread-and-butter with honey or treacle on it, also a penny for pocket-money, with good advice, accompanied by the prediction that 'he would one day make a fine fellow of a parson.'

A story is told of his quick intelligence as a boy. Standing one day by Lewis Morris when he was dressing, the poor lad was surprised to see his patron putting on a linen shirt over a flannel one, and, contrasting his own condition with that of his patron, he immediately improvised these lines—

> 'Digrif yw gwisgo deu crys,
> Ond dyma groeu heb'r un crys.'
>
> (It is pleasant [curious] to wear two shirts,
> But here's a skin without one.)

It was in this spark of genius that Lewis Morris discovered a talent which was in the future to burst into light. From that time he became the boy's attached friend, and it was from him, no doubt, that he learnt something of the art of poetry; but Gronow Owen exemplified the proverb, 'Poeta nascitur non fit.' At the age of eleven we find him pursuing his studies at the Grammar School of Bangor, where he gained a scholarship. His love of linguistic studies was almost a passion with him. Some of his early themes are extant, and their Latinity is such as is rarely found in school exercises, and in later years Dr. Porteous, Bishop of London, spoke of him as the most finished writer of Latin since the days of the Roman emperors.

He left Bangor in 1741, and returned to his old home in

Anglesea (Llanfair), but his mother, who had been to him no ordinary parent and friend, was now dead, and another had taken her place. The tie which had bound him to his home was now broken, and he remained only a short time there. A vacancy having occurred in the grammar school at Pwllheli, a small town on the sea-coast in Carnarvonshire, Gronow, now at the age of nineteen, was appointed one of its masters. He remained here about two years, but no accounts are given of his life during this time, except in his own poems, where he tells something of his love affairs. From a Latin poem relating to a Miss Phillips, she appears to have made a deep impression upon his heart; but this was not his only love, for in another poem he gives a humorous account of having been chased by a noisy black cur which he had disturbed when he went late at night to visit his lady-love at a farm. She and all the family had retired, but the surly cur found a way out and pursued him over hedge, ditch and stream. When he had reached a place of safety he turned upon his noisy foe and chased him in his turn, but he made a firm resolution not to visit his lady-love again. He was now anxious to prepare himself for the ministry; and in the hope of obtaining assistance to proceed to one of the universities, he wrote to Owen Meyrick, Esq., of Bodorgan, but his application does not seem to have been successful. He, however, went to Jesus College, Oxford, 'which has many endowments for natives of North and South Wales, and clerkships which enable the holders of them to take their degrees free of cost.' He was also aided by Mr. Edward Wynne, of Bodewryd, and he had, no doubt, some assistance from the brothers Morris. He set out for the university with a bright and brave heart.

No account is given of his sojourn there, but in a letter to Richard Morris (June 22, 1752) he tells him that he was ordained deacon—probably by the Bishop of Bangor, as he sought a curacy in that diocese. Gronow had a great desire to obtain the curacy of Llanfair, his native parish, and in the absence of the Bishop of Bangor he was appointed to it by his chaplain. But misfortune seemed to have met him at the commencement of his career, for when the Bishop returned he informed his chaplain that he wished to give the curacy to a young friend of his own. Gronow therefore had to resign it, and he says: 'What could a poor hapless wight do? It would have been unseemly to complain to a Bishop of his chaplain, or to quarrel with any of them, and the curacy was not worth it!'

Having a relative living in Denbighshire, at whose house he had found refuge in times of need, he again sought its shelter, and there heard that the curacy of Selattyn, near Oswestry, was vacant. He applied for it, and this time with success. He was appointed to the curacy and his learning secured for him a mastership in the grammar school at Oswestry. (The belfry of this school was surmounted by a birch-rod for a weather cock.) He speaks of reading the daily prayers in the old church at Oswestry, to improve his English, and he afterwards went altogether there. At the end of his second year at Oswestry he married a young widow, Ellen Hughes, daughter of a retired ironmonger, an alderman of the town. The marriage took place at Selattyn (August, 1747) but though his wife's relatives were well off, he remarks that he was none the better for it.

During his residence of three years in the old town the bard seems to have laid aside his literary pursuits. Gronow

Owen left Oswestry in September, 1748, for Uppington, where he was appointed to the curacy under the above-mentioned Dr. Douglas, and as deputy head-master of Donington Free Grammar School, at the very small salary of £26 per annum. No mention is made by him of any fees, but it was the custom formerly for each boy to pay an entrance fee, and some of his successors raised these fees to a considerable amount in order to keep the school select.

Here he seems to have struggled on bravely, and to have found leisure for poetical compositions and the study of languages. In Hebrew and Chaldee he became a proficient, and here it was that he wrote 'Cywydd y Farn Fawr' ('Poem on The Great Judgment'), one of the grandest poems in the Welsh language, and many others of equal brilliancy. His prose quite equalled his poetry.

It is easy to imagine that amidst the splendid scenery around him his poetical genius would be reawakened. In his walks to and fro between Uppington and Donington, through winding lanes, a lovely landscape across the vale met his eye whichever way he looked. From the windows in front of his house he saw the Severn winding gracefully below, and in the distance the Stretton Hills and the Longmynd rising in great beauty. From Charlton's Hill the whole range of mountains in North Wales, as far as Snowdon, met his eye. He dwelt among those scenes which another great and more ancient bard, Llywarch Hên, has celebrated.*

It is curious that the ancient bard of the sixth century, said to have lived at the Court of King Arthur, should have

* See Note 4, 'Llywarch Hên.' The white town in the cultivated plain.

written of the devastation of the ancient city, and that Gronow Owen should mention, as he does in a letter to a friend, that some very curious pieces of antiquity had lately been found there (at Wroxeter), these being almost the earliest excavations. 'Wroxeter,' he says, 'was once one of the finest cities in Britain. It was called by the Romans Uriconium and Viroconium, perhaps from Gorygawn or Gwrogion, and was probably destroyed by the Saxons. We have a tradition here that it was set on fire by a flight of sparrows that had matches tied to their tails for that purpose by the enemy.'*

After a year spent at Donington, Gronow's eldest son, 'Robert y rhodd bert bach' ('a pretty little gift'), of whom he seems to have been very proud, was born on the poet's own birthday, January 1. The second was born about twelve months later. When he writes of his children all the warmth of a father's loving heart is discovered.

In a letter to Mr. Richard Morris he speaks of Dr. Douglas as follows:

'The man I now serve is a Scotchman named Douglas; probably you know him. He is in London now, and spends most of his time with the Earl of Bath, teaching his son. He is the man who took the part of the poet Milton against the false, hateful slanderer Laud.'

In writing to Mr. William Morris in 1753, he mentions parish troubles which arose at Uppington from the squabbles of two of its great men, for it seems that the great men's greater men ruled.

* This is supposed to refer to an early tradition that the Britons themselves set fire to an ancient city on this site, and that Caractacus watched it burning from the Caradoc. (See 'Caractacus.')

Gronow says, 'Lee has been, and Boycot is, the chief trustee of the school. The latter is one of my parishioners at Uppington. Lee often assisted me in my difficulties; *he* would lend me five or six pounds when I was in distress, but from Boycot I only get a mug of ale and a pipe of tobacco. When he happens to come to church, which is about three times a year, he gives me a share of his dinner if I like to go, but the old fox refused me the loan of a sixpence, which I only asked him for to prove his generosity.'

'Lee,' he continues, 'is a Chwig (a Whig), but Boycot sydd yn un o Addolwyr Jago' (a worshipper of King James, a Jacobite). He complains of the injustice of Boycot in illegally taking from him the land he held. 'And now,' he says, 'farewell to butter and cheese and posset of two milks,* and the luxuries drawn out of my little dairy.'

'Boycot,' he adds, 'is the idol of my master, and he, being obliged to live in London, leaves all his business to be transacted by him.' He comforts himself, however, as Mr. Lee has a promise, from the Bishop of Llandaff, to give him a place when he should have a vacancy in his diocese.

At this time the smaller freehold estates had become the property of the larger landed proprietors. Sir William Pulteney had a considerable estate in this part, and Boycot, being his agent, was probably, in the absence of Dr. Douglas, entrusted with some kind of supervision of the school. Though in his life at Uppington Gronow seems to have had many difficulties, it is evident from his biography, written by the Rev. R. Jones, which is, however, a confused mixture of

* Sweet milk and buttermilk. The acidity of the latter causes it to break, when mixed, into a kind of curd and whey, a sort of junket—a great delicacy among the Welsh.

Welsh and English, that the time he spent there was more peaceful than any of his after years, for he says later, 'Adverse and bitter winds have marred my course through life, and hard the hurricane has hurled.'

In a letter to Mr. W. Morris, written from Walton, his thoughts seem to have lingered about the Wrekin, which he calls the 'Shropshire Parnassus,' and adds, 'As far as I can see there is not one hill in Lancashire that will feed a muse. However, we will try whether a muse, like a Welsh horse, may not grow fat in a plain level country.'

Writing from Uppington to Mr. Richard Morris in London, he expresses a wish to be furnished, if possible with a few books that would help him in the Oriental languages. 'I mean the Arabic and Syriac,' he says, 'for the Hebrew and Chaldee I have some smattering in. I have often heard that almost every book may be had, and pretty reasonably, at the booksellers' stalls in London. Now, if you should by any chance see an Arabic grammar, and either buy it or cheapen it, and let me know the price, I could easily send up the money by the Salop waggon which goes to London every week, and comes within half a mile of my house. I say, if you should see such a book by chance—for I would not put you to the least trouble in the world about it—and secure it for me, I would remit the money immediately, and ever gratefully acknowledge the favour; and perhaps I might at some time or other be able to compass the buying of a polyglott Bible.'

It seems hard that a man of his talent and genius should be without books to gratify his tastes. His modesty, both with regard to his learning, and in asking his friend to help him to obtain them, is very touching.

The services at Uppington Church at this time were only one every Sunday, matins and evensong alternately. His sermons would no doubt be extempore.

Besides his great poem 'Cywydd y Farn Fawr' he wrote many others at Donington. One of these was 'Cywydd i w gwwflyno i Dywgsawg Cymru' (Poems dedicated to the Prince of Wales). It was presented to H.R.H. by Dr. John Thomas on St. David's Day, 1753.

In one he writes of his wife 'Elin y wraig rywiog olau' —'Wife with genial footsteps' (sympathizing wife). 'If it please God to lend me life,' he says to R. Morris, 'I will find you enough of that kind of diversion for you, especially if I could once be so happy as to get rid of the confinement of the school.' Yet he managed to keep up a pretty extensive correspondence, and to send Mr. Lewis Morris some new poem about once a month. He seems to have been too poor to publish his poems, and many of them were lost by his own carelessness in moving from place to place.

The Rev. D. Ellis, of Holyhead, purposed being at the expense of printing 'Cywydd y Farn.' But, as his biographer says, 'Gronowy, while deeply grateful for trifling kindnesses, inherited his countrymen's quick, abrupt ebullition of temper. When a sense of injustice stung him, he would instantly resent an affront, but, like all men of a fine spirit, his anger soon passed away.' Being terribly offended with Dr. Ellis for dictating to him on the manner in which his poem should be published, as to notes, etc., he wrote to him hastily.

In a letter written from Donington (1752) to Mr. W. Morris, he says he 'knew him (Ellis) of old to be a man of

morose and peevish temper.' 'If want of kindness in my letter is the reason why "Cywydd y Farn" is dropped, I am in no way concerned at it. Let him know, with thanks and compliments, that he does me a special and notable piece of service. But if it be for want of notes, so surely he that could make the "Cywydd" can also write notes on it, and if the noise about it is so far gone abroad as to raise a general expectation, I don't know but it may be advisable to print it, and even requisite in some measure.

'Now your crown (if you can find in your heart to part with it on so trifling an occasion) and mine, and another of Mr. Hugh Williams', will compass it, and we may have it and some two more printed here under my own eyes at Salop,* and afterwards equally divided betwixt us, to be disposed of at pleasure.'

Towards the end of his letter Gronow says, 'I would not have you communicate the contents of my letter to Mr. Ellis, not that I fear him or any of his kind, but because I suppose his spleen is already on the stretch, and more provocation would do him harm. And for him to deny me the liberty of my own sentiments (which by-the-bye, I doubt not, were juster than his own in that case) is, I say, as great a piece of tyranny as ever the Man of Rome usurped over men's consciences. I beg you will let me know in your next what part of my letter he was offended at. You may, if you please, make my compliments to him as usual, and, if you will, show him the "Cywydd," which I have written on the other side, on purpose that it might be cut off from the letter.' In a letter to the same a little later his anger

* Shrewsbury was at this time famous for the publication of Welsh books.

appears to have been appeased, Mr. W. Morris having accomplished the difficult task of making peace and healing the breach; he says: 'My compliments to Mr. Ellis, and if he chooses to join in the publication of the "Cywyddan," he shall be very welcome, and have my thanks too. But I am afraid the "Cywyddan" will never be printed, because I doubt the money cannot be raised. The rate of printing at Salop is two guineas a sheet for 1,000 copies, which is three times too much to bestow upon them, and there would not go above two or three of them on a sheet. For my part, I am very indifferent whether they are printed or not.'

Neither the proposals of his friends nor his own simple ideas of publication appear to have been carried out. A few of his poems were printed in a Welsh almanack, and the Cymmorodorion published the 'Caniad,' and that was all.

It is probable, says his biographer, that he descended to the grave without ever having seen an edition of his own works. He wrote several odes of deep pathos, such, it is said, as are not to be found in the whole range of Welsh poetry. In these he breathes forth in the most touching strains his longings for his native country, Anglesea: 'Awdh y Gofuned' (ode expressing his desires), and 'Cywydd y Gem' (a search after happiness). 'Cywydd Coffadwriaeth am Margaret Morris' (an ode to Margaret Morris) was one of his effusions, which he strove to render worthy of her to whose memory he had written it.

In his childhood and youth Gronow Owen had the great blessing and privilege of being under the influence of two most excellent women, Sian Parri, his mother, and Margaret Morris. He remembered them both with great affection and gratitude. The exemplary lives of the three sons of Margaret

Morris are evidences of her great worth, and their warm-hearted friendship for Gronow, their sincere goodwill and faithfulness to him in his many troubles, are further proofs of their noble characters.

The brothers sympathized with Gronow in his great desire for a cure in his native country, but neither their interest, nor the friendly endeavour of Squire Lee, seems to have led to any such result. It is from his correspondence with the brothers Morris that the principal facts relating to his life have been gathered, but, unfortunately, his letters to Lewis Morris, which were no doubt the most interesting, have been lost.

It is sad that, with his genius, ability and learning, he should not at any time of his life have succeeded. He evidently disliked the confinement of school-life, and became very discontented at Donington. In a letter dated Salop, April 19, 1753, he thanks William Morris for having procured for him the curacy of Walton. 'I accept it,' he adds, 'and am engaged by promise to be at Walton before Low Easter Sunday. I hope this change will be for my good. My neighbouring ministers have promised to officiate for me here till a successor be provided, so my present patron cannot think himself ill-used.'

In the same letter he mentions a difficulty with regard to the expense of moving his family, and one cannot help thinking that this seems unaccountable when his patron, as he called Dr. Douglas, was a man to whom so many preferments were given; who died, as his biographer tell us, at an advanced age, regretted by royalty, mourned by a large circle of literary friends, and by many who had been benefited by his benevolence.

In his later years he is said to have been eminently charitable. The disposal of the large property he had amassed confirms this. Dr. Douglas might at that time have been a poor man himself, but this is scarcely probable. It is a curious fact, which might be here mentioned, that the Rev. John Geary, who was head-master of Donington Free Grammar School and Incumbent of Uppington from 1806 to 1838, saved a fortune. Only men of learning were ever appointed to the post. Gronow Owen is the only one whose special genius is recorded, but alas! poor Gronow does not appear to have derived benefit from any of his great personal advantages.

Leaving his family at Donington, Gronow started for Walton, in Lancashire, near Liverpool, and arrived there April 29, 1753. He seems to have travelled the whole distance on foot, for he speaks of being excessively tired. The sale of his furniture enabled him to leave Donington free from debt. The conveyance of his family was a difficulty. Squire Lee perhaps gave him a little aid, and we may be sure his stanch friends, the Morrises, would not fail him in such an emergency. In about a fortnight his wife and children joined him.

From his vicar, Mr. Brooke, he received a warm welcome and the post of honour—the morning pulpit. In the afternoon, Gronow read prayers and the rector preached. He gave a humorous description of their sailing up the aisle in their academical gowns, the rector, a man of great height and breadth, towing the poet as a ship would tow her jolly-boat. 'This tall, stout man,' he says, 'dressed as if his clothes had been pitchforked there. He had a countenance as grim as a lion's, and in conversation contracted his

muscles until they formed furrows in which a bevy of mice might have lodged. In addition, he chewed tobacco.' Notwithstanding his forbidding aspect, he made himself agreeable, and was kind and generous to Gronow. He gave him £35 per annum, which was a considerable addition to his income.

It must be borne in mind that the small salaries which were given generally in those days must be estimated according to the cheapness of provisions, when, as in Gronow's time, a leg of mutton was sold at less than fourpence per pound, and beef at a still lower rate. He had a suitable house, which Mr. Brooke kindly helped him to furnish, and when Gronow had a little gathering he not only joined the party, but sent refreshments for the entertainment of the guests.

In August, 1753, Gronow writes to Mr. W. Morris: 'My Bob is a very great favourite with the rector, and is greatly admired for being such a dapper little fellow in his breeches. He can never see him without smiling, and one day said that, if he himself could be cut out as they cut corks, he would make at least a gross of Bobs. By way of experiment, he gave me a very good waistcoat of camlet silk to make him a suit of clothes, which it really did, and somewhat above [to spare]. Whenever he goes to visit a friend, which he has done three or four times this summer, he always desires my company, and finds me a horse.'

Gronow's intelligence and wit made him a pleasant companion, and he was received everywhere with a hearty welcome.

An event now took place which filled the poet's heart

with joy: a little daughter was born, but her delicate health was a cause for much anxiety.

The duties and cares of his new cure seem to have engrossed more of his thoughts and time than the school at Donington had done, and literature and poetry were almost cast aside, though he wrote one or two poems of great pathos. Of this he complained in his letters to the Morrises. In his letters his hard fate was made the subject of what might be called a wail, and the anxiety of the brothers that he should return to Wales became deeper. They did all they could to obtain for him preferment, but the Welsh bishops, who, if they had not condemned, had neglected him, were now inexorable. There might now have been some excuse for their neglect, but much blame is certainly due to them for their refusal of patronage in the early years of his ministry. Neglected and banished, he was perhaps driven to despair, and, like many another literary genius, became absorbed in a kingdom of his own, and reckless of the affairs of every-day life.

Gronow's duties at Walton were by no means light. Until the year 1698, Walton was the parish church of Liverpool, and was at this time a populous and fast-rising neighbourhood. Besides Sunday and week-day services there was much parochial work—funerals, visiting the sick, etc.

And now other shadows fell upon his home. She whom in pure affection he had made his wife, who had hitherto been to him a companion and a solace through his dreary days of hard toil, who had entered into the inner life of the poet as well as shared the outward troubles of the man—for there was deep love and sympathy between Gronow and 'Elin y wraig rywiog olau'—she who was the mother of his children,

in whom all his hopes and joys were centred, had now, either from natural infirmity or in consequence of their poverty and other trials, sought forgetfulness in intemperance. Gronow had himself given way to this sinful habit, but it would not be the less terrible to him to see its baneful influence upon his wife, and, like many other men, he perhaps had to reproach himself for having, by his example, tempted her.

Liverpool offered temptations which he could not withstand. There he found many of his countrymen, and his love of society led him to seek the tavern. In his more tranquil life at Donington he had escaped these temptations.

He does not seem to have lost the friendship of Mr. Brooke by his frequent visits to Liverpool, but his faithful friend, Lewis Morris, was greatly incensed against him on that account, and he and his brothers again endeavoured to carry out the object they had so long had at heart, and obtain for him preferment in Wales. They induced the Earl of Powis to take an interest in poor Gronow, but the Bishops seem to have turned their backs upon him.

The Bishops of that day were indifferent to all that was Cymric; indeed, they wished to do away with the use of the language and the nationality of the people, thinking thus to enlarge and strengthen the Church. There are in the present day many Welsh people of the same opinion. But, be that as it may, the Church in Wales at that time was much in need of powerful and efficient men, and Gronow, being so great a linguist, could no doubt preach as well in English as in Welsh. Had he been taken in hand in his earlier days, he might have been raised above those temptations which became his ruin.

Some surprise has been expressed that Gronow Owen, having lived so much in England, should have been, both etymologically and idiomatically, so perfect a master of his own language. The same might be said of his English, for he could not have been appointed to the Mastership of Donington Free Grammar School without a perfect knowledge of the English language. This qualification was a *sine quâ non*. But he was a linguist and a genius. The study and thorough acquirement of different languages was easy to him. The comparison of words and their uses in various languages is most interesting, and assists much in the deeper knowledge of each. Such studies afforded him the greatest pleasure, and it was probably in the wider study of languages and literature and such comparisons that he developed new beauties and power in the Welsh language.

It was natural that he should have wished to publish his works, but his hopeless poverty seems at last to have made him give up all thoughts of it, and to become resigned to this. In one of his letters to William Morris he says: 'I am under no manner of concern about my works. It is equal to me whether they are printed or continue as I have written them for eighty or a hundred years longer. Let them take their chance and shift for themselves, and share the common fate of all sublunary things. If I have not a better immortality than they can procure me, I had even as good have none. Yet they, amongst others, may help to preserve our language to posterity; and so far and no farther a wise man and a lover of his country ought to regard them.

'There are more curious old books,' he says, 'in our

language to be met with in Shropshire than in most parts of Wales, and that plainly shows that some generations ago the people valued themselves upon being Welsh, and loved their native country and language. Had I, when I lived at Oswestry, been as nice a critic in old books as I was in voluble young women, I might have furnished myself pretty moderately, but who can put an old head on young shoulders?'

In speaking of the Lancashire dialect, he remarks that it is said of the Chinese 'that they have in their language some sounds that no European is capable of pronouncing; but I defy the Chinese themselves, or anybody else but Lancastrians, to pronounce "bowt, thowt," bought, thought, etc., according to the genuine Lancashire pronunciation.

'My youngest boy talks this language as well as any of them, but Robert is too much a Salopian to learn it, and very often corrects his brother for using such "ugly words," as he calls them. When Gronow says "teawn, cowt, keaw," etc., Robert says, "You must not say those naughty words; you should say, town, colt, cow," etc. Gronow could not speak when he came here, so this is his natural dialect.'

Walton, which is now adorned by the spacious residences of Liverpool merchants, was then a bleak, unsheltered spot, and in the spring of 1745 Gronow suffered much from the severity of the weather, and his slender frame was prostrated by an attack of pleurisy. Small-pox about this time was bad at Walton, but this he escaped. In a letter to his cousin, John Rowlands, he says:

'I have now three children, two lads and one wench [a term common in those times and much later], Robert, Goronwy, and Elin. They are, I thank God, all well, and

never had the small-pox among them, though it is very rife in our neighbourhood.'

At the beginning of the year 1755 new troubles came. He accepted an invitation to visit his friend, Mr. Owen,* who was then curate to Mr. Halsall, at Great Crosby, a neighbouring village. He had a kind welcome at the parsonage, and after a pleasant evening retired to bed, where he was suddenly seized with an attack of ague, with fever and a severe cough. He insisted upon returning home, though he could scarcely mount his horse. Mr. Brooke being absent, Mr. Owen did the service for him on the Sunday, sending for a doctor, etc. The severer symptoms gave way, but the cough remained, and for some months he was a great sufferer. To add to his troubles, Bob, his favourite boy, was away in Anglesea, and he was sadly depressed. To William Morris he says: 'A body and mind harassed and worn-out with cares and affliction cannot hold out any long while.'

Another and a more overwhelming sorrow followed. His little daughter, the Elin over whose birth he had rejoiced some seventeen months before, and who had been a bright sunbeam gladdening his home, fell a victim to the complaint (ague) from which he had himself so severely suffered. She died after a few days' illness, and was buried within a few paces from the spot where she was born near 'The House in the Churchyard.'

This event, which occurred in April, almost prostrated the poor father. He told the story himself, and poured forth

* Mr. Owen was Vicar of Warrington, 1795; he took great interest in the poet, and discovered more of his later history than anyone else.

his grief in an ode of exquisite pathos, 'Marwnad Elin unig Ferch y Bardd' ('Elegy to Elin, only Daughter of the Bard').

Gronow was a man of warm and strong affections, and his heart was bound up in his children, especially in the little Elin, whom he describes and mourns for as a little paragon of all that was graceful and winning.

At Walton he became one of the Brotherhood of Freemasons. He believed the order to be an offspring of Druidism, and was desirous of learning its secrets. After one of his attacks of illness he complains of a shortness of breath and 'a sort of involuntary sigh which came upon him unawares.' This is more a sob than a sigh, often brought on by some great sorrow, and seldom entirely leaves those who have once experienced the strange sensation.

Owing to the loss of the poet's correspondence with most of his friends, not much is known of his last days at Walton. His visits to Liverpool were continued, driven there, it might be, by the poverty and wretchedness of his home. It is, nevertheless, a strange fact that, whilst he was sinking into a state than which none could be lower in the social scale, yet his intellectual powers were then of the highest and rarest kind. At this time he wrote 'Cywydd Hiraith am Wald Fon,' in which he dilates on the loveliness of the scenery in his native island of Anglesea.*

The wretchedness of his life at Walton had at this time become extreme, and it was well that a change awaited him. Both he and the Morrises had now lost all hope of his re-

* The Welsh language is particularly rich in terms descriptive of scenery.

turning to Wales, and if he was to succeed in obtaining something better, it must be by greater self-reliance and exertion.

In 1755 he left Walton, and went to London in the hope of finding some lucrative occupation.

A Welsh society, the Cymmrodorion, probably through their president, Richard Morris, made him tempting offers. He was to hold Welsh services in some public building or church on Sundays; to be appointed secretary, and to receive payment for any translations or original compositions the society might need.

Gronow set out for London. How the journey was performed is not told, but it would probably be chiefly on foot.

As he looked down from Highgate on the great city at his feet, his heart perhaps thrilled with bright hopes of that life before him, in which the past would be forgotten, and where usefulness—perhaps fame—might atone for the earlier and wasted portions of his manhood.

Mr. Lewis Morris was in London: to him his first thoughts turned, and he found him at Charing Cross. It was in the companionship of his patron and friend, so endeared to him by the kindnesses of early life, that the poet visited the chief parts of London.

He wandered through street after street, amused and edified; the public buildings were to him marvels of grandeur. Even the 'cries' excited his interest. The Jew's 'Old clo',' and many others, he reproduced in immortal verse. But his greatest astonishment was at the ever-moving tide of human life.

The great object of his attention was the meeting of the Cymmrodorion, for it was there his future weal or woe was

to be determined. Poor Gronow was again doomed to disappointment.

In May, 1755, his family joined him in London, but the great purpose for which he had exchanged Walton for the Metropolis remained unfulfilled. Whether the scheme respecting the Welsh Church fell through for want of funds, or the obstruction was from the Bishop, because permanent provision could not be guaranteed, is not evident. The Cymmrodorion, however, gave Gronow some occupation in translations, etc.; but his finances were fast ebbing away, when Dr. Nicolls, Master of the Temple, was in want of a curate for his parish of Northolt, and Gronow obtained the vacant cure at a salary of fifty pounds per annum. The village was in a then remote agricultural district about twelve miles from London, prettily situated on an elevation. At no great distance stood Harrow-on-the-Hill, a greater eminence, crowned with a lofty spire.

And thus the poet found refuge from penury and trial; but it was not in Wales, and the level plains around his new home, though wooded, offered but a poor recompense for the valleys and mountains that lay in the far west, where his heart was. Often would he turn his gaze to the setting sun, and when the shadows of evening had fallen, picture its rays still falling in crimson lights upon the mountain-tops of Mona. A tear would start into his eye as he thought of his own pathetic words:

'Ond am Fon hardd dirion, deg.'

In his new home, however, Gronow seems at least to have been contented. A large garden occupied much of his time, and he hailed with delight the acquaintance of a

gardener who was a native of Anglesea, and whom he facetiously named 'Adam.' This neighbour kindly supplied him with seeds, etc., and Gronow turned to his garden with much interest. Fishing in the river Brent (immortalized by Lord Lytton), which ran within half a mile of the Vicarage, amused the bard. Here he wrote a Latin 'Ode on the Birth of Lord Ludlow,' eldest son of the Earl of Powis, and also a Welsh translation of it, which is considered a very fine poem.

The ode was presented to the Earl by Lewis Morris. He was pleased with the compliment to his little son, and there was reason to hope that he would find an incumbency for the poet; but it is to be feared that the same cause which had probably prevented the bishops from patronizing him now operated on the Earl, for no preferment came.

After a time Gronow paid frequent visits to London. His attainments and genial temperament opened to him every door. With his walking powers the intervening twelve miles were no hindrance, and in the happy reunions, literary discussions, and recreations of the hour, the trials of his life were, for the time, forgotten. He was like a prisoned bird set free, and in the merriment of the social gathering he was 'O'er a' the ills of life victorious.'

But his visits to London became too frequent. His easy, guileless disposition led him astray. This was especially the case at the Cymmrodorion, where conviviality was carried to excess. These meetings led to a serious rupture with Lewis Morris, which was, perhaps, never entirely healed; but the deep affection which lingered in the poet's heart for his faithful friend and benefactor burst forth when he died, some nine or ten years later, in an exquisite ode to his memory.

A serious interruption in his intercourse with William Morris was also at this time another trial to Gronow, but the brothers, to whom the recollections

'Of that which once had been'

were indelible, never abandoned him.

A still harder fate now awaited Gronow. His sojourn in his tranquil home was drawing to a close. Why he left Northolt is not clear, but from the correspondence between him and the brothers Morris it is inferred that some delinquency on the part of the bard caused a breach between them and his departure from the curacy. These letters also contain remarks relating to his wife which are very sad. It is evident that without serious cause the brothers would not have taken him to task.

At this time (May 30, 1757) he returns some books to Richard Morris accompanied by a very respectful letter, expressing his thanks and good wishes.

In an N.B. he says: 'After I had put in the books I found room for a pair of pigeons, which I went directly to the dove-house for, and I desire your acceptance of them.'

The box was directed to Mr. Lewis Morris, at the Navy Office, but 'to be left at the Bell, Holborn, till called for.'

The letter is thus endorsed by Mr. Morris: 'This letter, instead of being put in the post-house, was put upon the box. A porter brought it to the Navy Office on the 13th June. It stunk abominably, and all the books stunk, and I was obliged to put them into the air to sweeten.'

We find that when, soon after, on account of his poverty, Gronow wished to publish some of his works the brothers

Morris again came forward and endeavoured to help him, but even this effort does not seem to have succeeded.

In 1757 Gronow Owen's sojourn at Northolt came to an end. No light has been thrown upon the immediate cause of his leaving, neither through whom he obtained the appointment in Virginia.

It is possible that the Earl of Powis, being unable to further his interests at home, might have secured for him the mastership of the Grammar School attached to the College of Williamsburg; but it is more probable that the Bishop of London, who was Chancellor of the College, having, through the Morrises, become acquainted with the unfortunate circumstances of the poet and scholar, advised, and helped to carry out, the project.

He was offered the post, and accepted it. The income was £200 per annum. His diocesan no doubt also ratified the appointment, as the Government would require that the fitness of persons for important offices in the colonies should be endorsed by competent authority. The Government (George II.) granted him £20 towards the passage-money to convey him and his family to Virginia. The order is dated '4th day of November, 1757.'

And now Gronow Owen bade farewell to Northolt, and with his wife and two boys embarked on board the *Trial*, the ship which was to bear them to their destination.

Richard Morris, though he had been annoyed and grieved, rendered him all assistance in this hour of need, procuring for him the best berths and attendance for his wife. The moment of parting was a terrible one, and Richard Morris, as he lost sight of the departing ship amidst the forest of masts on the Thames, returned from his leave-

taking with an aching heart. What the poor bard's feelings were can be well imagined.

And on this ship with the ominous name new 'trials' and cares awaited him. There was sickness and death among the motley crew around him, and here his intelligence enabled him, though he had no previous knowledge of the work, to cope with disease, and in the exigencies of the moment he, with the help of an old medicine-chest and a treatise on dispensing by a Dr. Shaw, stood, as it were, between life and death. When the function of physician no longer availed, he performed the solemn office of committing the body to its watery grave.

The voyage was a comparatively short one, but only the bard and his two boys landed on the shores of his adopted country. His wife, whom, with her faults, he had tenderly loved, his Elin, and an infant, born, it would seem, on the voyage, he had to consign to the wide ocean. She died most probably in childbirth.

In those days passenger ships were rare and very expensive. The *Trial* was a convict ship, the captain unprincipled and void of feeling. He had promised the anxious husband, in the presence of Richard Morris, that one of the convict women should attend upon Mrs. Owen; but when they were out at sea he took the woman as his mistress. With such a captain it is easy to imagine what the conduct of those on board would be; and thus poor Gronow experienced one of his most terrible afflictions on the lonely voyage, without any friend near to sympathize.

The College of Williamsburg was, except Harvard, the oldest literary institution in the United States. It was founded by William and Mary, 1692. From several sources

it had an income of £3,000 per annum. The building was planned by Sir Christopher Wren.

Gronow Owen remained there three years. During that time little is known of his life, except that he was fully occupied with his duties, and married a widow, sister of the Rev. Thomas Dawson, President of the College.

The news of his marriage, which seemed to indicate a better state of things, gave pleasure to his friends in London and in Wales; but his newly-found happiness was not of ong duration. The wife who appeared to have been given to him to transform his solitary home, be a mother to his boys, and a comfort to him, died within a year of their marriage. During her life no delinquencies occurred either to affect his character or his position, but after her death it is to be feared that he returned to his old habits.

Scarcely a letter reached England during his life at Williamsburg. In a letter dated Caergibi, September 22, 1759, William Morris, writing to his brother Richard, asks, 'Ai nid oes dim son am Orono?' ('Is there no sound [news] of Gronowy?').

Twelve months later he anxiously asks the same question. Accounts of the sad events travelled, however, in some way across the broad Atlantic, and the little that has been gathered concerning his life at Williamsburg is not very satisfactory. It is contained in a letter received by Gronow's former friend at Walton, the Rev. Edward Owen, from Thomas Davies, a Virginian clergyman, who had gone out there, when a boy, with his father.

He says: 'In November, 1758, I was sent to the College in the Grammar School at Williamsburg. The Rev·

Gronovius Owen was master of that school. He was a blunt, hasty-tempered Welshman, and esteemed a good Latin and Greek scholar. He married Mrs. Clayton, who at that time was Dame of the College. She shortly died without issue. He had two sons, Robert and Gronovius, who came from England with him. I remember him well, as he was frequently at my father's house, and very fond of talking Welsh to my mother.

'Rum, which has destroyed more than the sword, was his destruction. He was extremely intemperate, and in one of his merry frolics he and Mr. Rowe, who was Professor of Moral Philosophy, headed the collegians in a fray which they had with the young men of the town, for which flagrant impropriety they were dismissed from their offices by the visitors.

'This, I think, happened in 1760. Mr. Rowe returned to England, and Mr. Owen was soon afterwards inducted into a parish in Brunswick, county Virginia. The son Gronovius died soon after. Mr. Owen lived only a few years, and soon after it was reported that Robert also was dead. I fancy this account may be relied on, as I never heard of Robert afterwards.'

A letter signed Robert Nicholson contains similar information, and that he removed to Brunswick County, 1760, with his two sons by a former wife. Date of letter, Williamsburg, August 29, 1795.

He also quotes from another letter signed 'Jas. Dalsel.' date, Richmond, Virginia, October 10, 1795: 'Gronow, son of above, now resides in the county of Brunswick, Greensville, on the plantations adjoining Mr. Henry Taswell.'

Another young gentleman, writing to the same from Warrington, Virginia, says: 'I was sorry as well as you that Mr. Davies used such a coarse pencil in drawing our very ingenious friend's character. I suppose the young man had smarted some time or other under the master's birch, and that he had not forgotten it.' The writer promises to make further inquiries about Gronow and his family.

Of his life at St. Andrew's*—Llan Andreas, as Gronow named it—very little is known, but soon after he went there his son Gronow died. It is said that here he married a third wife, and had three children. One of these must have been the son named above by Dalsel.

In 1876 his biographer, the Rev. Robert Jones, says that some of Gronow Owen's descendants were still living on American territory, and that a letter had been received by the Rev. Thomas Gee, of Denbigh, from Mr. Glendower Owen, of Plasquemine, U.S., a great-grandson of the poet, in which he expressed great anxiety to obtain all the information possible about Gronow and his works.

The Rev. Derwent Coleridge, Hanwell Rectory, writing of him, November 25, 1864, says: 'Gronowy Owen's signature is very interesting, the spelling Gronow Owen exactly representing the Latin form "Gronovius." In Welsh he signs himself "Gronwy," generally "Gronwy Dhu," or "Gronwy Dhu o Fon," *i.e.*, Gronovius the Black of Anglesea, his birthplace; once "Y Bardd Gwyllt," the Wild Bard; and in his later letters "Goronwy Owen," the modern spelling. In adapting the short form of his name to his English residences and public functions he shows his fine taste and scholarship.' And he adds: 'The little

* There is another St. Andrew's, county Brunswick, Canada.

bard's Welsh is so idiomatical that I do not read it with facility, and I had the assistance of a native scholar.'*

The bard's simple signature 'Gronow Owen,' in a clear handwriting, is to be seen in the parish registers at Uppington, and this short account of him will prove that his memory still lives in the locality where he wrote his greatest poem, 'Cywydd y Farn.'

In a letter written by Mr. Lewis Morris to Mr. Vaughan, of Nannau, dated Bishop's Castle, October 7, 1752, he says, after asking his interest on behalf of the poet: 'I showed you the "Cywydd y Farn" and other poems of his when I was last at Nannau, and I have three or four other pieces of his since then that are the best that ever were written in our language, and will endure while there is good sense, good nature, and good learning in the world.'

The three brothers Morris appear to have been noble and true friends to Gronow, and it is curious that the great-grandson of his special friend and patron, Lewis Morris, to whose memory he wrote an ode, should a century later write an ode to the memory of the bard. The brothers were remarkable men, and devoted time, talents, and money to the advancement of Welsh literature.

In stature Gronow Owen was short and slender. He could leap an extraordinary distance, and could walk fifty miles at a stretch. He was firm, but lithesome, of a dark complexion, and had thick black hair and beard closely shaven. His eyes were dark, and flashed with kindling fire

* The compiler of this memoir has found that even 'native scholars' have been greatly put to the test when their assistance has been sought, and the English into which they translated the bard's idioms was seldom available.

under the influence of emotion caused either by anger or pleasure. He had the quick temper of his race, but was facetious.

With many excellent qualities, inherited, no doubt, from his mother, it is probable that some of his father's failings descended to him. That poverty, which he says 'tore the spirit out of my heart, and silenced the song that was on my lips,' should have so mercilessly pursued him is perhaps not surprising when the habits of his life are considered. Again, sympathy is awakened by his tone of submission and resignation. 'This weight of poverty,' he says, 'this dark lot, how hard it is! But while my God pleases, I will bear it uncomplainingly.'

He died far away from his native land, and though he had no doubt found friendships in his distant home, he was far from all who were endeared to him by earlier and deeper ties.

Before he went away to the new world, he alludes with great pathos in one of his poems to the prospect of finding his last resting-place in a foreign land, and then remonstrates with himself on the folly of desiring a resting-place for the body whilst neglecting the welfare of the soul. The thought brings him to his knees, and he pours forth a prayer in most earnest and touching language.

The date of Gronow Owen's death is not known, but it is supposed to have occurred about two or three years after he wrote his last poem, 'Ode on the death of Lewis Morris.'

None can read the scanty details of the poor bard's chequered life without being touched by his many disappointments and sorrows, nor without sincere regret that he seems to have been lost to his own truest interests.

Like many another genius, actual force of will and a practical sense of his duties seem to have been unknown to him.

That his devotional feelings were of the highest and purest nature can be seen in his poems. The appointment of holy days or festivals he traces to God. 'He who set apart the seventh day, as well as other Jewish high days, for the purpose of commemoration,' he says, 'may well be regarded as approving of such institutions among men.'

A volume of Gronow Owen's poems was published, 1763, entitled 'Didanwch Teuluaidd'; a second edition 1817. In 1831 a beautiful tablet was erected to his memory in Bangor Cathedral as a memorial of his genius and high attainments:

'Friend, dead and gone so long!
Was it not well with thee, whilst yet thy tread
Gladdened this much-loved land of thine and ours?
Came not thy life sometimes through life's flowers?
Knew'st thou no crown but that which bears the thorn?
Amid the careless crowd, obscure, forlorn,
Who sittest now among the blessed dead,
Crowned with immortal song.'*

Dr. Douglas and Donington School.

Donington School was a Free Grammar School, founded by Thomas Alcoke, 1627, for forty boys of Uppington and Wroxeter. It had two exhibitions to Christ Church, Oxford, of £80 per annum for four years, and £21 for the three following years, for boys elected on the foundation of Mr. Careswell. The endowment of the school was about £70 per annum, with house, garden, and a few acres of land.†

* First verse of ode by Lewis Morris.

† About twenty acres. This land was a part of Careswell's Foundation, and given by him.

It was necessary that the head-master should be a graduate of Oxford, in Holy Orders, and a scholar. The learning and high attainments of several masters, and the exhibitions which were open to all the boys, gained for the school a high repute.

Dr. John Douglas, who became Canon of Windsor, Bishop of Carlisle and of Salisbury, was appointed head-master in 1749; the celebrated Welsh Bard, Gronow Owen,* was his deputy.

The Rev. James Cope was appointed to the head-mastership 1769. He had a large school, and his wife, who was a very clever woman, had a day-school for girls, and in the early part of this nineteenth century (1806 until 1838), when the Rev. John Geary was head-master, there were from fifty to sixty boarders, many of whom were the sons of noblemen and gentlemen. In his old age and independency the school fell off. His successor, the Rev. John Meredith, had a few pupils on high terms, and sometimes a small number of day-pupils from the two parishes. He, too, became aged, and railways made Shrewsbury more easy of access than Donington, and thus the old school came to an end. A last effort was made to keep it up as a day-school for the two parishes, and when a new vicarage was built at Uppington for its incumbent, a lay-man was, for the first time, appointed master of Donington school (1879); but the days of its prosperity seemed to have come to an end, and in a short time all attempts to keep it on were given up, and all the Careswell exhibitions were given to Shrewsbury Free Grammar School.

The house, which is an excellent residence, is situated in

* See his Life.

a most picturesque spot near Charlton's Hill. It has been recently purchased (1894) by Mrs. Jenkins, widow of the late Admiral Charles Jenkins, of Charlton's Hill.

With regard to the distinguished men connected with Uppington, the name of Dr. Douglas has been handed down to us in companionship with some of the most prominent literary men of his time. He had a brilliant career; preferments were heaped upon him, and he died at an advanced age greatly respected and regretted. He left his large property chiefly to charities. He is mentioned by Oliver Goldsmith in a humorous piece of poetry as forming one of the dishes of a literary feast:

'If our landlord supplies us with beef and with fish,
Let each guest bring himself, and he brings the best dish.
Our Dean shall be venison, just fresh from the plains;
Our Burke shall be tongue, with the garnish of brains;
Our Will shall be wildfowl of excellent flavour,
And Dick with his pepper shall heighten the savour;
Our Cumberland's sweetbread its place shall obtain,
And Douglas is pudding substantial and plain;
Our Garrick's a salad, for in him we see
Oil, vinegar, mustard, and saltness agree.
To make out the dinner, full certain I am
That Ridge is anchovy, and Reynolds is lamb;
That Hickey's a capon, and, by the same rule,
Magnanimous Goldsmith a gooseberry fool.'

CHAPTER XII.

WROXETER (URICONIUM).

'Behold the boast of Roman pride!
What now of all your toils are known?
A grassy trench, a broken stone!'

SCOTT.

'Gone glimmering through the things that were.'

So much has already been written about Uriconium that it would be useless here to give any details.

Parkes* says that the ancient city owed its foundation to Ostorius about A.D. 50, and adds that 'when Domesday was written Wroxeter had long been numbered among the dead.'

Discoveries made by excavations have proved that Uriconium was built by the Romans, and it is generally believed that a much more ancient city, called Caer Urnach,† built by the early Britons, once existed here. The British city was probably destroyed in the great struggle between the Britons and the Romans in the time of Caractacus (Brit. Caradoc).

Local tradition says that the British chief, finding that he must at last yield to the Romans, caused the city to be set

* Parkes MSS., Brit. Mus., MS. 21,011, p. 27 (Wroxeter).

† Called Caer Urnach by British; Wrekincester, Saxon.

on fire, and watched it burning from his fortifications on the Caradoc. The Britons built their houses with materials that would be quickly consumed, and any part that might have remained would be swept away or employed in the building of the Roman city.

British masons, already expert workmen, soon learnt an improved method of building and the use of Roman cement, and many of them were taken to France to assist in building great edifices. The Britons lived in peace with the Romans and many cities and stately buildings were raised. In the improvement of their newly-acquired colony, the employment of productive labour was immense, and we are told that the fertility of the soil at Wroxeter required an unusual number of ox-teams. Ptolemy mentions Uriconium as being situated in the country of the Cornavii, and as probably their chief city. Other ancient historians allude to it.

Its walls were about three miles in circumference, encircled by a vallum fifteen feet high and a fosse (moat) fifteen feet wide. Near the excavations a portion of the wall still remains, twenty feet high, one hundred feet long.

When the grain is ripe in the fields, the streets can be traced by its ripening quicker than in other parts, where the soil is deeper. Remains of a bridge can be seen at low water, between the confluence of the Severn and the Tern, near Wroxeter.

Parkes (MSS., Brit. Mus.) describes an enclosure of stones discovered July 8, 1798, between Tern Bridge and the Severn, within which were found three glass urns of very elegant workmanship, twelve inches high and ten in

diameter, and three earthen ones of fine red earth. The spot is supposed to have been the burying-ground of a Roman family of Uriconium. The glass urns contained burnt bones and fine earth, and in each was a glass lachrymatory (tear-bottle) of a beautiful green tint, a few Roman coins, part of a jawbone, and an earthen lamp.

In 1701 a hypocaust was found in a complete state at Wroxeter; in 1734 a tesselated pavement; and in 1747 clay moulds for forging Roman coins were found. They had on them the head of Julia, wife of Severus (Ivlia Agvsta). A memorial stone to Julia Donna, wife of Severus, A.D. 217, was found at Calleva, supposed to be Silchester.

In 1752 three tombstones with Latin inscriptions were discovered. One of these related to Petronius, who is supposed to have been a standard-bearer in the victory over Queen Boadicea, A.D. 61. The translation of the inscription is as follows:

'Marcus Petronius, son of Lucius, of the tribe of Menenia, lived thirty-eight years. He was a soldier of the 14th Legion Gemina, served eighteen years, was a standard-bearer.'

In 1808 a small and very curious stamp was found near the wall, said to be of the kind used by Roman empirics and occularii. It is of green schist. The inscription engraved upon it was translated by Professor Simpson of Edinburgh, and is said to signify the 'Dialbanum or Incense Collyrium of Julius Bassus Clemens—for every eye disease—to be used with egg.'

The discovery is recorded of an altar which is supposed to be of the time of Constantine. Upon it is inscribed in capital letters, BONO REJ PVBLICÆ MAJVS. Draw-

ings of it are given in Duke's and Blakeway's collections (Blakeway's MS. 'Notes on Wroxeter,' Bodleian Library.)

In 1810 a number of silver coins and one gold one were found in a glass urn. At a more recent date copper coins were discovered bearing dates from A.D. 52 to A.D. 379, from Claudius to Valens. Embedded in the wall were found brass coins of the time of the Emperor Trajan, A.D. 53, to A.D. 117.

No Saxon coins have been found, which fact implies that the Roman city was destroyed before their time. But it is generally supposed that it owed its destruction to those ruthless invaders who left to the conquered nothing but their lives. The poem of Llywarch Hên* is said to commemorate its destruction, and he depicts a fierce struggle.

In A.D. 382 the Romans under Maximus withdrew from Britain, leaving no defence against the marauding Picts and Scots.

In A.D. 396 ambassadors were sent to Rome to seek aid against these invaders, but the Romans were too much occupied in the defence of their own country to give any assistance to the distant colony which they had abandoned.

It has been said that the Britons retired to their western mountains and excluded themselves from mingling with their Roman conquerors, and thus preserved their ancient language; but evidences of Roman occupation have been found in every part of the Principality, and here it was that the Christian faith was still kept. All historians tell us that they lived in peace with their conquerors, and the fact of their sending to Rome for aid proves that even then no hostile feelings existed.

In the early part of the fifth century, A.D. 413, the British

* A.D. 584. See Note 4, 'Llywarch Hên.'

bishops met their Roman brethren at the great Council of Arles, and nearly 200 years later, though they clung to the doctrines and traditions of their ancient Church, they were willing to meet the missionaries sent from Rome to aid them in the conversion of the heathen.

In the early days after the conquest the Romans in England, like the Normans, probably used their own language; but during the peaceful centuries which followed, the races mingled and must have become one people, using one language.

We know how easily a foreign language is acquired when we live among the natives of any country. The fact of the ancient language having lived through all the constant intercourse and connection with the English-speaking race of later times is a convincing proof that the Roman legions who conquered Britain, who were few in comparison with the native population, were not able to obliterate the British language, even had they wished to do so, which is improbable; they would be more likely to adopt it. All our English officials in India learn Hindustani; no attempt is made to obliterate the native language.

It was not until the reckless invasion of the Saxons that the Britons retreated to their mountain fastnesses. 'Dim Sassanach' (No Saxon), say the Welshmen to this day.

Many cruel agitators have, of late, endeavoured to induce Welshmen to forget that here among these same Western mountains the Christian faith and the British Church was cherished and bravely defended during the terrible vicissitudes of those dark times when heathenism had become all but universal. Through all this time it struggled on, until again throughout all the land there was 'one Lord, one

faith, one baptism.' May God Almighty forbid that through dissension and disunion we should again bring evil upon our Church and country!

At Wroxeter further excavations have been made during later years, and many interesting discoveries have given an insight into the condition and habits of the Roman-Britons, full details of which have been given by the different societies of antiquaries. Numerous articles which have been found there can be seen at the Shrewsbury museum.

In Domesday Wroxeter is described as a manor, 'Rainald holds Rochester.* Toret held it in Saxon times, and was a freeman. Here i hide geldalle. In demesne is an oxteam and a half and seven teams among the serfs, male and female.

'Here are vii villaines iiii boors, iiii priests and one radman.† Between them they have iiii oxteams.

'Here a Church and 1 league of wood. In the time of Edward (Confessor) the manor was worth 40s., now it is worth the same.'

The church of Wroxeter, mentioned in Domesday, was a Saxon collegiate church, as indicated by the mention of four priests.

The Fitzalans were the successors of Rainald. They had a residence at Wroxeter. The first mention of them is in 1126, when Henry I. visited Shrewsbury, and on his return to London he, in the presence of his barons and courtiers, gave the county of Salop to Adela of Blois, his second wife. She appointed William Fitzalan to be her sheriff or steward.

* Of Rainald little is known. When Domesday was compiled he was lord of Upton Magna, Sheriff under Earl Roger Montgomerie, and the largest landholder. See Chapter XIII., 'Shrewsbury.'

† Or manor. A radman was a grade higher than a serf, villain, or boor.

He remained loyal to Maude, Henry's daughter and lawful heir.

Little Buildwas was, manorially, an isolated member of Wroxeter until 1175, when William Fitzalan granted it to Buildwas Abbey. Edmund de Lenham held it under the Abbot (1302). A peculiar duty was attached to this holding. He and his wife were to place the first dish upon the Abbot's table at Buildwas on Christmas Day, and they were 'to ride with him at his pleasure any whither within the four seas.'

The first named Vicar of Wroxeter is William Hoduet, instituted November 11, 1274.

Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, was registered in the Nomina Villarum, 1316, Lord of Wroxeter. His wife, Isabel de Say, was a benefactress to the monastery of Wenlock, which was restored by Roger Montgomerie for the monks of Cluni. The Fitzalans seem to have been liberal to the Church. They rebuilt Wroxeter Church, and founded Wombridge, dedicating it to God, St. Mary, and St. Leonard. They appear to have been for a long time the lords of Wroxeter. 'From the Fitzalans Wroxeter descended to the Ottleys.'*

'Basselock (or Besselow), Abbot's Eyton, Uppington, Homels-on-the-Heath, and Donington, in the parish, and a fine tenement, formerly belonging to the late surrendered monastery of Lilleshall, and other rents, were granted by Queen Elizabeth, July 15, 1563, to Thomas Poyner and William Wolryche, in consideration of £1200 9s. 3d. This property remained in the Wolryche family until 1717, when Sir John Wolryche conveyed the same to Richard, Earl of Bradford, in fee, in consideration of £10,000.

* Lloyd. † 'Antiquities of Shropshire.'

'The tythes, corn and grain of Uckington and Attingham, were purchased by Francis Newport from John Draycot and Ann his wife, in consideration of 200 marks, 6 March, 7th year of James I.'

There are no names now remaining at Wroxeter which are in any way connected with the earlier times, but it is a place of great interest to antiquaries.

CHAPTER XIII.

ATCHAM.

'Travellers all,
Both great and small,
How thoughtlessly we play
In a country of mortality
Where never a man can stay!'

WAUGH.

ATCHAM is an ancient village, and the sculpture which has been discovered there bears witness to its antiquity. The beautiful old church, with its ivy-mantled tower, standing on the river's bank near the bridge, was dedicated to St. Eata.* Bede tells us that St. Eata, Abbot of the monastery of Melrose, Roxburghshire, a most reverend and meek man, was appointed Abbot over the brethren that stayed in the church of Lindisfarne when the Scots went away. Colman, at his departure, requested that he should remain, and obtained this of King Oswy, because Eata was one of Aidan's twelve boys of the English nation whom he received when first made Bishop there (Lindisfarne), 'to be instructed in Christ, for the King much loved Bishop Colman on account of his singular discretion. Not long afterwards Eata was made Bishop of Lindisfarne.'

Ettingham or Attingham signifies the 'Village of the Sons

* See Note 9, 'Iona and Lindisfarne.'

of Eata.' Atcham is a corruption of the same word. There are no very early accounts of the village; it was probably a suburb of Uriconium. Ettingham, however, must always be interesting to the antiquary on account of its connection with Iona and Lindisfarne, and of its being the birthplace of the celebrated Norman historian, Ordericus. To his records, made in the Abbey of St. Evroul (Ouche), we are entirely indebted for our chief knowledge of his times. In him the characters of Norman and Englishman were inseparably mingled. Although his parents were foreigners, and he was for a time a denizen of a Norman monastery, he clung to England as his own country, and gloried in his English birth. In the simple truthfulness of his records he has left a touching portrait of his own character, which claims our greatest respect.

'Behold,' he says, 'worn out with age and infirmity, I desire to end my work, and for many reasons prudence requires it, for I am now (1141) passing the sixty-seventh year of my age in the worship of my Lord Jesus Christ, and, while I see the foremost men of the world crushed by heavy disasters of the most opposite sort, I dance for joy in the safe estate of obedience and poverty.

'There is Stephen, King of England, sighing in prison, and Lewis, King of the French, leading an expedition against the Goths and Gascons, is vexed with many and frequent cares. There is the Church of Sisieux, whose Bishop is dead, without a pastor, and when it will have one, and what sort, I know not.

'What shall I say more? Amid these things I turn my speech to Thee, O Almighty God, and with double force beseech Thy goodness that Thou wouldst have mercy on

me. I give Thee thanks, O King most high, who didst freely make me, and hast ordered my years according to Thy good pleasure. For Thou art my King and my God, and I am Thy servant and the son of Thine handmaid, who, from the first days of my life, according to my power, have served Thee.

'For, on the Saturday of Easter (Easter Eve), I was baptized at Ettingham, a village in England which stands on the Severn, that great river Severn. There, in the ministry of Ordericus the priest, Thou didst regenerate me by water and the Holy Ghost, and didst put upon me the name of the same priest, my godfather.'

His father was Odeler of Orleans, son of Constantius, a man of great learning, and came with Earl Roger de Montgomerie to England, and was one of his chief counsellors. Odeler is said to have been Rector of Wrockwardine in 1086, and to have given one hide of land to Cherlton. He and Ordericus, Incumbent of Atcham, are the earliest parish priests named in Shropshire.

In another place Ordericus says of his birth: 'I was born on the 14th of the Calends of March. On the 16th I was regenerated in the Holy Font of Baptism, in the ministry of Ordericus the priest, at Ettingham, in the Church of Eata. Then, when I was five years old,' he continues, 'I was delivered over to school in the city of Shrewsbury, and then I offered to Thee the first services of clerkship in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul. There Sigward, the famous priest, taught me for five years the letters of Camenæ Nicostrata, and broke me in to psalms and hymns, and other necessary instructions. Meanwhile, Thou didst exalt the aforesaid church, built on the river Mole, which

belonged to my father, and by the pious devotion of Count Roger didst build there a venerable monastery.*

'It did not seem fit to Thee that I should longer be Thy soldier there, lest with my relations, who often to Thy servants are a burden and a hindrance, I should suffer some disquiet or run into some loss in the fulfilment of Thy law.

'Therefore, O glorious God, who didst command Abraham to go forth from his country and his father's house and kindred, Thou didst put it into the heart of Odeler, my father, to give up his claim on me, and to put me absolutely under Thy yoke.

'So he delivered me to Rainald the monk—a weeping father his weeping child—and for the love of Thee appointed me to banishment, and he never saw me afterwards.

'Young boy as I was, I took not upon me to dispute my father's wishes, but in everything I willingly assented; for he had promised on his part that, if I would become a monk, I should, after my death, possess Paradise with the innocent. Gladly was the engagement made between me and Thee, my father being its minister, and I left behind my native country, and my parents, and my kindred, and my acquaintance and friends; and they, weeping and bidding me farewell with loving prayers, commended me to Thee, O most high Lord God. Hear their supplications, I beseech Thee, and graciously grant what they desired, O merciful King of Sabaoth.

'So, being ten years old, I crossed the British sea and came an exile to Normandy, where, unknown to all, I knew no man. Like Joseph in Egypt, I knew no man; like

* See pp. 170, 178.

Joseph in Egypt, I heard a strange language. Yet, by the help of Thy favour, among these strangers I found all gentleness and friendliness.

'In the eleventh year of my age I was received to the monastic life by the venerable Abbot Mainer in the monastery of Ouche (St. Evroul), and on Sunday, September 22, 1085, I was tonsured, after the manner of clerks, and for my English name, which sounded harsh to Normans, the name of Vitalis was given me, borrowed from one of the companions of St. Maurice the Martyr, whose martyrdom was then celebrated, September 22.

'In this house, for fifty-six years, by Thy favour, have I had my conversation, and by all the brethren and dwellers in it I have been loved and honoured much more than I deserved. Heat and cold and the burden of the day have I endured, labouring among Thine own in the vineyard of "Sorech,"* and the "penny" which Thou hast promised I have confidently waited for, for Thou art faithful. Six abbots have I reverenced as my fathers and masters, because they were in Thy place: Mainer and Serlo, Roger and Garin, Richard and Rainulf. They were the lawful heads of the convent of Ouche. For me and for others they kept watch as those who must give an account; within and abroad they used good husbandry, and with Thee for their Companion and Helper, provided all things necessary for us.

'On March 15, 1091, when I was sixteen years old, at the bidding of Serlo, our Abbot elect, Gilbert, Bishop of Sisieux, ordained me sub-deacon. Then, after two years, on March 26, 1093, Serlo, Bishop of Séez, laid on me the office of deacon, in which grade I gladly ministered to

* Vineyard planted with choice vines (Isa. v. 2).

Thee fifteen years. Lastly, in the thirty-third year of my age, William, Archbishop of Rouen, on December 21, 1107, laid on me the burden of the priesthood. On the same day he ordained two hundred and forty-four deacons and one hundred and twenty priests, with whom, in the Holy Ghost, I devoutly approached Thy holy altar, and have now for thirty-four years faithfully performed Thy service unto Thee with a willing mind.

'Thus, thus, O Lord my God, my Maker, and the Giver of my life, hast Thou through different steps bestowed on me freely Thy gifts, and duly ordered my years for Thy service. In all the places whither Thou hast so far led me Thou hast caused me to find love, not by my deserts but by Thy favour.

'For all Thy benefits, O gracious Father, I give Thee thanks with my whole heart, I laud and praise Thee; and for all my numerous offences I, with tears, beseech Thy mercy.

'Spare me, O Lord, spare me, and let me not be confounded. According to Thy goodness, which cannot be wearied, look pitifully on Thy handiwork, and forgive and wash away all my sins. Give me a will which shall persevere in Thy service, and strength that fails not against the craft and malice of Satan, till, by Thy gift, I obtain the inheritance of everlasting salvation. And the things which I ask for myself, both here and hereafter, O gracious God, those I wish for my friends and benefactors; those, too, I earnestly desire, according to Thy wise ordering for all Thy faithful ones.

'The worth of our hearts sufficeth not to obtain those everlasting good things which, with burning desire, the

longings of the perfect yearn after. Therefore, O Lord God, Father Almighty, Maker and Ruler of the angels, true hope and eternal blessedness of the righteous; therefore let the glorious intercession help us in Thy sight, of the Holy Virgin and Mother Mary, and of all the saints, by the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of all, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God for ever and ever. Amen.'

Odeler, father of Ordericus, was, as has already been said, chief confidential clerical counsellor to Earl Roger de Montgomerie. He was a priest and a married man.

The Earl had three wise clerks, Odeler, Godbald, and Herbert, to whose counsel and advice he is said to have profitably listened. We are also told that he liked the society of wise and modest men, and that, whatever he was to others, to his clerical friends he turned his best side. He, like others of his time, was a liberal benefactor to religious foundations. To those in France and Normandy he gave of his spoils in Britain. The evil he had done thus during the life of his wicked Countess he afterwards endeavoured to atone for by such benefactions on both sides of the Channel. Odeler persuaded his patron to make amends for his offences by founding a monastery near Shrewsbury.

'A castle of monks,' says Ordericus, 'to be built for God against Satan, where cowled champions (pugiles) may resist Behemoth in battle.'

Odeler himself was a benefactor to these foundations, and in those dark times this holy and benevolent man must have been the greatest of blessings and a 'shining light.' To the monastery he offered a site and half his property,

the other half to be held of the monks by one of his three sons. His eldest son, Ordericus, he gave up, as we have seen, absolutely for love of God, to be separated from him for ever; to be sent across the sea, 'where, an exile of his own accord, he might be a soldier of the King of Heaven; among strangers, where, free from all mischievous regard and tenderness of relations, he might flourish excellently in monastic observance in the service of the Lord; and gave of his substance 30 marks to his masters and companions, as a thank-offering of blessing.'

The monastery at Shrewsbury was endowed with gifts by Earl Roger and his vassals. Monks from Séez were brought to start it. The gift of Earl Roger, comprising a suburb of the town, was offered on the altar of St. Peter by the symbol of the founder's gloves.

Ordericus, writing of it, says: 'This is digression, be it of what account it may, about the building of the monastery on my father's land, which is now inhabited by the family of Christ, and where my father himself, as I remember, an old man of sixty, willingly bore to the end the yoke of Christ.'

He then adds: 'Forgive me, good reader, and let it not be an offence to thee if I commit to record something about my father whom I have never seen since the time when, as if I had been a hated step-child, he sent me forth, for the love of his Maker, into exile; while I often think of these things, and some of them commit to paper, carefully resisting idleness, and thus exercise myself in inditing them.'

The first Abbot of Ouche, or St. Evroul, was Theodoric, a man of great piety and zeal, whose holiness imposed awe even upon Mabel of Belesme, Countess of Montgomerie, who was the terror of her neighbourhood, and kept her

from doing 'either good or evil' to his house. He was blameless as a spiritual ruler; he established at St. Evroul a flourishing school of copyists, but in managing the business of the house he was not so successful, and was clamoured against by a party of malcontents, who said: 'He ought not to be Abbot—a man who knows nothing of business and neglects it. How are men of prayer to live if men of the plough are wanting?

('Unde vivent oratores
Si defecerint aratores?')

'He is a fool, and cares more about reading and writing in the cloisters than about providing sustenance for the brethren.'

Ordericus then shows us what a stormy existence might be the lot of those who dwelt in those houses of peace. The monks, though trained to endure hardness, found their fingers nipped sometimes by the frost, and had to give up writing when the winter set in. Ordericus breaks off, for this reason, in his records.

He says: 'Now, stiffened by the winter cold, I shall employ myself in other occupations, and, very weary, I propose to finish this present book. But, when the spring returns, I will take up again what I have imperfectly related.'

Dean Church, speaking of Ordericus, says: 'Brought into contact, a dweller in the Norman monastery, with a great variety of men, he gives a most lively image of what life seemed around him. Sometimes relating his travels, he tells of what he saw at Worcester, Croyland, at Cambray or at Cluni, more often hearing the stories or relating the ways of travellers, who avail themselves of the

hospitality of St. Evroul, or who there sought shelter in their old age.

'It is as lively as real life, and also as confused and unassorted. Nothing comes amiss to him. A family history, with the fate of all its members, a revolution, a conquest. Details of the customs and transactions of the times, of the monastic profession, with its vicissitudes, its triumphs, jealousies, disasters, conflicts, quarrels, and scandals; singularities, personal appearance of this or that Abbot or Bishop; scraps describing natural phenomena—a bad thunderstorm or falling stars.

'He is full of rambling digressions, with one portion of his account in one place and the rest of it in another; does not always remember what he has said, and by no means to be trusted for accuracy. Never was there such a mass of confusion as the book which grew under his hand for twenty years. It is the torment, the despair, of historians, who yet find in it some of their best material.

'For his opportunities, he had been a zealous and painstaking reader. He wrote without fear or favour, and was more sensible than most of those about him; not only that right was not always with the victorious, but that truth and justice were not always undivided on one side.

'There is something very touching,' says the Dean, 'in the way in which the old man of nearly seventy, broken and hardened to the storm of life in a Norman monastery, cannot help, in the midst of other subjects, going back to the days of his boyhood in England, by the banks of the Severn, and recalls the bitter days of parting, and his first dreary dwelling in that then strange land which had now become familiar to him.

'There is thankfulness, hearty and sincere, for that ordering of his life which, hard as had seemed its conditions, made him a monk; a thankfulness, simple, genuine, and tender, for having been preserved and fenced round from the storms of a wild and naughty world.

'He recorded the minutest details, alike of the saints, of the warriors of his time; could admire the greatness of the conqueror, and sympathize with the wrongs of his victims.'

There are no other ancient records of interest relating to Ettingham.

The lords of Berwick are descended, through the Noels, from King Edward I., and are entitled as co-representatives of Joan Plantagenet, his daughter, called 'The Fair Maid of Kent,' to quarter the royal arms. The paternal ancestor of the lords of Berwick was John Harwood of Goreing, Oxfordshire. He purchased the estate of Hogburn, Berks, in 1628, from the Earl of Banbury. From him descended Thomas Harwood of Shrewsbury, who married Margaret Elizabeth, sister of Dr. Richard Hill of Hawkestone, she being the widow of Richard Atcherley of Moreton, and had issue two sons, Thomas and Rowland, and two daughters, Martha and Ann.

Dr. Richard Hill was an eminent statesman in the reigns of William and Mary, Anne, and George I. He was the ancestor of the Hills of Hawkeston and of the gallant Lord Hill. The said Dr. Richard Hill bequeathed Ettingham Hall, recently built, and in the occupation of Thomas Harwood,* to his sister for her life; then to her son, Thomas

* Thomas Harwood represented Shrewsbury in several parliaments, and died 1782, aged ninety.

Harwood, who took the name of Hill. He, by his second marriage with Susanna Maria, eldest daughter and co-heir of William Noel, had a son named Noel Hill. He represented the county in three Parliaments, and was raised to the peerage May 19, 1784. His brother Rowland was Rector of Hodnet.

The estates of Uckington came to Thomas Lord Berwick by exchange between him and Sir William Pulteny.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were great corn mills at Atcham, which existed until 1706.

Sir William Pulteny contested the borough of Shrewsbury, May 30, 1796.

In addition to Mr. Arthur Hill of Hawkeston and the Hon. William Hill of Ettingham (cousins), Sir William Pulteny was brought forward by Mr. Corbett of Sundorne and he was returned.

In a cabinet of china at Ettingham Hall there is a large jug which is kept as a relic of the memorable contest.

CHAPTER XIV.

SHREWSBURY.

'Edita Pengwerni late fastigia splendent,
Gerbs sita lunato veluti mediamnis in orbe
Colle tumet modico duplici quoque ponte superbis;
Accipiens patrea sibi linguâ nomen ab almis.'

LELAND.

'Far off its lofty walls proud Shrewsbury shows,
Which stately Severn's crystal arms enclose;
Here two fair bridges awe the subject stream,
And elder-trees bestowed the ancient name.'

Translation.

SHREWSBURY is beautifully situated on an eminence rising from the banks of the Severn, which surrounds it on all sides except the north, forming a peninsula shaped like a horse-shoe. Earl Roger de Montgomerie fortified the north side by building the castle. In an old 'History and Geography,' published in 1705, it is described as 'a large and populous town . . . filled with gentry as well as tradespeople. Here is a cheerfulness and gaiety very conspicuous, which are never to be found united but where trade inspires the former and easy fortune the latter.'

The ancient names given to the city indicate its British origin: Yenwiddig (the Delight), Pengwern (Head of Alder Grove). The Saxons called it Scrobbesbyrig (Hill of Shrubs).

It has been imagined by some that the natives about 570, 150 years after their Roman rulers had left the country, sought security on the peninsula and founded the city; but Llywarch Hên, who lived at the end of the sixth century, and wrote an elegy on Cordolanus and Frevel his sister, who lived at Uriconium at that time, wrote also of Pengwern as the capital of the British kingdom of Powis; and this part of Shropshire, which was not occupied by the Saxons, constituted the fairest portion of 'The Paradise of the Cymri.'

It might have been built by the Roman-Britons, but no Roman remains have been found there. Under its new name of Scrobbesbyrig the city was no longer the metropolis of a kingdom.

The native kings, who had ruled under the Roman emperors, were engaged in constant hostilities against the Saxons until they were defeated by Offa, when the whole country was annexed to his kingdom of Mercia. He constructed the dyke, which still bears his name, to secure this acquisition to his territory, and though London was the capital of Mercia, Scrobbesbyrig was still a city of much importance, and had a royal residence. Ethelfleda, Countess of Mercia, who was a daughter of King Alfred, visited Scrobbesbyrig, and devoted much attention to Shropshire.

After the death of King Offa, A.D. 912, Ethelfleda succeeded to the government, and had frequent contests with the Britons. She founded St. Alcmond's* Collegiate College, built Chirbury and Brugge Castle.† At this time there was a mint at Shrewsbury; copper coins have been found bearing the inscription 'Athelstan, Scrob.'

* Son of Alurius, King of Northumberland, A.D. 800.

† Bridgenorth.

During the reigns of Ethelred, Canute, Edward Confessor, and Harold II., coins were struck here, and after the Norman Conquest, in the reigns of William I., William II., and Henry III. Between this time and the reign of Charles I. no coins seem to have been made at Shrewsbury.

Earl Roger de Montgomerie is said to have built in 1083, the monastery already referred to upon that spot, then an eastern suburb, where a rude edifice had stood from the time of Sigward, a Saxon noble, and thus laid the foundation of a splendid abbey (Benedictine), and re-dedicated it to the ancient patrons of the monastery, SS. Peter and Paul; it was valued at £532 4s. 10d., which was a large sum for that time.

Dugdale says: 'Roger de Montgomerie gave to this house great possessions, as did other barons and knights of the county. Hugh, his son, gave other lands and great immunities, with a heavy curse upon the violaters.'

The remains of the abbey still form a handsome church, which retains some of its ancient grandeur. Recent restorations have given the exterior an incongruous appearance. The pulpit, which once stood in the refectory, where it was the custom for a monk to read to his brethren during meals, has escaped the general ruin, and still stands near the abbey, but the road runs between them.

In 1824 a slab of thirteenth century was found in the abbey, *dos d'ane*, with effigy of the deceased, the hands joined as if in prayer, and other indications that he was a priest.

It was a collegiate church from the time of Edward the Confessor until the general destruction. St. Chad's was founded by the King of Mercia, and became a collegiate church from the time of William the Conqueror. The beautiful church dedicated to St. Mary has evidences of a

very early date. Near the castle was a royal free chapel or collegiate church, dedicated to St. Michael. St. Julian's was also a free chapel, its remains being annexed to St. Michael.

A house of Grey Friars was founded in Henry III.'s time by Hawise, wife of Cherlton, Lord of Powis. Until the time of Llewellen the lords of Powis lived at Shrewsbury. Edric,* Earl of Mercia, whose wife was King Ethelred's daughter, also lived here. Ethelred (Unready) in 1006 'passed over the Thames into Shropshire' and remained there in great sorrow and perplexity whilst the Danes were attacking his kingdom.

Edric of Mercia went over to the Danish conqueror Canute, and many men of Shropshire followed his example and forsook the dilatory Ethelred; but for this act they were punished by Edmund Ironsides.

Domesday tells us that in the time of Edward the Confessor, 1042, there were 252 houses occupied by burgesses, whose rents amounted to £7 16s. 8d.

The King had many branches of revenue in this town. Fines and forfeitures were paid to him; those for highway assault and burglary were 100s. each; a widow paid 30s. for a marriage licence, a maiden 10s. The city was assessed to the Danegeld at the rate of 100 hides. Twelve citizens were appointed as body-guard to the King, and those who had horses rode with him when he hunted. At certain times the sheriff was required to send thirty-six men to attend the King, and twenty-four men on horseback when he left the town to escort him as far as the first stage. Any person who did not obey the summons to attend him forfeited 40s.

Edward the Confessor married Edith, daughter of Godwin,

* 'Earl' and 'king' here are synonymous terms.

Earl of Kent. She lived in good works and he in visions of superstition.

Roger Montgomerie, who was a relative of William the Conqueror, acquired nearly the whole of Shropshire. He is said to have destroyed the ancient castle at Shrewsbury, and to have built a stately Norman fortress on the neck of land by which the city could be entered. A small part of this fortress still remains in good preservation, and has been recently restored by the late Duke of Cleveland. Part of its ancient site is occupied by a railway-station.

At this time the brothers Edwin and Morcar were joint Earls of Mercia, and knowing that they could not resist the victorious Conqueror, they swore fealty to him, and he confirmed them in their possessions; but the burgesses of Shrewsbury, having been forced by Earl Roger to pay a greater amount than they had been previously accustomed to pay, and wishing to regain their fertile province, revolted against this and other acts of injustice, and laid siege to the new castle; but hearing that the Conqueror, with a large army, was coming to the rescue of the beleaguered city, they, with the Saxons, who, having interest in common, had aided them, decamped; but before their retreat they did that which in those times seems to have been a common act of revenge —they burnt the city.

It was in the spring of 1069 that William the Conqueror marched at the head of his army to punish the defiant natives, and then it was that he abolished the Saxon earldom of Mercia. Edwin and Morcar, the two Saxon earls, had broken their promises to the King, which had only been made in terror, and when they believed 'discretion to be the better part of valour,' and in 1068 had taken part with the

British in the desperate struggle to liberate themselves from the yoke of their common oppressor. It was not until 1071 that the brothers, with a remnant of scattered Saxons, after having suffered devastation and cruel vengeance, took refuge in the Isle of Ely, then surrounded by marshes.

It was the last refuge of the brave natives, and the heavily armed Normans might have found it very difficult to dispossess these noble Mercian patriots had not Morcar been duped by the treacherous persuasion of the King to leave his place of refuge for his court, where he was seized and cruelly cast into a dungeon.

Edwin left the island and made a gallant attempt to rescue his captured brother, but was betrayed to the Normans by some of his own followers. At the head of twenty of his faithful knights he made a desperate and heroic defence, retreating as he fought. Being at length stopped by a swollen stream and overcome by numbers, he fell. When his head was carried to the King it is said that he wept over the fall of the hero, whom he would have attached to his court and his own cause.

The brothers are said to have been very handsome, and their high birth, their vast estates, their heroic deeds and generosity gave them great power and popularity. The clergy, monks, and the poor offered continually prayers and supplications on their behalf. They had themselves been zealous in the worship of God, and respected good men.

Such were some of the calamities inflicted by the Norman Conquest.

Upon the redistribution of the provinces of Mercia, Earl Roger de Montgomerie entered Shropshire to possess and to rule.

Gerard de Tornai, one of the Norman barons, received for his services eighteen manors. His career in Shropshire was terminated in 1088 in consequence of his rebellion against William Rufus, and his estates were forfeited.

Another of the Norman barons who came to England with William the Conqueror was Pantulf, or Pantoul, Count of Falaise. He had twenty-nine manors in Shropshire. Wem was his chief barony, and here was a wood to fatten 100 swine. Count Pantulf was one of Earl Roger de Montgomerie's chief officers, and was much occupied and trusted by him in his Shropshire affairs; but being suspected of having been concerned in the murder of Countess Mabel, Earl Roger's first wife, he deprived him of all his estates, and he and his wife fled to Normandy and took refuge at St. Evroul, where the monks protected them.

The wicked Countess had taken possession of the Castle of Peria, which had been given to Pantulf, but her murderer was Hugh d'Ige, and Pantulf was not in any way concerned in the crime. At length, at the solicitations of many nobles, it was decided that he should clear himself of the stain attached to him by the ordeal of the hot iron. At Rouen this was carried out in the presence of the clergy. Pantulf carried the red-hot iron in his bare hands, and there was no appearance of his having been burnt; he was therefore declared innocent. The people rejoiced and gave praise to God.

To the monks of St. Evroul, who had comforted Pantulf and his wife in their affliction, King William gave as a reward four of the richest palls, which he had recently brought from Apulia in Italy. Four copes were made of them, and Ordericus tells us that in his time they were carefully preserved and used in solemn service.

Among the gifts which enriched the monks of St. Evroul was the manor of Traditon (Market Drayton), with the church and mill of that village.

Ordericus also relates that Pantulf, who, he says, was a brave and experienced King, 'took himself again to Apulia and, having great respect for St. Nicolas, he sought his relics, and by God's blessing is said to have discovered one tooth and two fragments of the marble urn. Having obtained the tooth of so great a saint, he returned to Normandy, and appointed a day at Noron, his own domain, for a number of persons to meet and receive the relics in a worthy manner.

'Thus the relics were deposited, 1092, with great reverence in the church of St. Peter at Rome. They were deposited in a silver urn provided by Pantulf. They were in great request by persons suffering from different maladies, and, with the devout prayers of the monks, were believed to effect cures.'

At the time Domesday was compiled, Pantulf seems to have been reinstated in all his former possessions. Both in England and in Italy he was known as one of the wisest barons of his time. Of his character it is said, 'He was firm in prosperity and in adversity. He put down his enemies and had great power through his wealth. He lived long, respecting the clergy, and was benevolent to the poor.'

From Pantulf were descended the Lords of Wem. In the time of Henry III. his descendants obtained a charter 'for holding a market and fair at Wem, and free court twice a year, pleas of bloodshed, hue and cry, and the privilege of the gallows.'

Roger Montgomerie's second wife was a great contrast to

the wicked Mabel, his first wife. She was Adelais, daughter of Edward de Pusey, a great noble of France.

There is a legend which connects this lady with Bridgenorth. She is said to have met Earl Roger there after having crossed the Channel in a storm. There was on board with her a priest, who declared he had a dream, in which it was indicated to him that, if they wished to be saved from shipwreck, the Lady Adelais must make a vow to build a church. She agreed to this, and with Earl Roger's consent and approval, built a church in honour of the Blessed Mary Magdalene on the spot where she met her husband, and liberally endowed it. It is believed that the present church at Quatford stands on the same site as this original Norman foundation.

Robert de Belesme transferred the borough of Quatford to Bridgenorth when he built the castle in 1101,—'transferring the town and people of Quatford to the new fortress,' says Ordericus. It was a great feudal structure, with outworks and a moat of vast proportions, and is one of the most interesting ruins in the county.

The sufferings which the Anglo-Saxons experienced at the hands of their Norman oppressors are well known, but they were not greater than they, five centuries earlier, had inflicted upon the unfortunate Roman-Britains.

The conquest of the English, as they were now called, by the Normans more resembled in reality the Roman conquest, for they also, after a time, lived in peace together and became one great people, and a nation whose power is felt over the whole world.

Roger de Montgomerie, first Earl of Shrewsbury, died July 17, 1094, and was, says Ordericus, 'honourably interred in

the new church which he had founded at Shrewsbury. He and his sons, Hugh and Robert, were also Earls of Arundel, and had estates at the other end of England.'

Hugh was the second Earl. He lost his life in the Straits of Anglesea whilst repelling the invasion of Magus Barefoot,* King of Norway. Pierced by an arrow, he fell into the sea, and his body was not found until after seventeen days. He was also interred in the abbey, in the cloisters. Hugh was the only one of Mabel's children of whom any good is told. He was succeeded by his brother, Robert de Belesme, son of the savage Mabel, 'that most hateful of the bad house of Talvas.' He, like his mother, was a 'monster of cruelty.' Hugh built a castle at Bridgenorth, on the site of the fortress built by Ethelfleda of Mercia, daughter of King Alfred. Here he committed many acts of cruelty. Finally, he joined in a conspiracy to dethrone King Henry I., and to put his brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, upon the throne; but the King took possession of his castle at Bridgenorth and pursued him to Shrewsbury, where he had taken refuge.

To reach Shrewsbury King Henry had to cross Hunel Hedge (Wenlock Hedge). 'This road,' says Ordericus, 'was full of holes, covered with large stones, and so narrow that two men on horseback could scarcely pass each other. The King, having more than 60,000 infantry with him, gave orders that a broad track should be cleared by cutting down the trees, so that a road might be formed for his own passage, and a highway for ever after.'

Earl Robert, greatly alarmed, went out, by the advice of his friends, to meet the King and his army as they approached Shrewsbury, confessed his treason, and humbly

* Buried in 'Iona.'

laid the keys of the city at the King's feet, suing for mercy. Henry, however, banished him to Normandy, where he practised his cruelties upon his own countrymen. A great shout of joy rang throughout England when his departure became known. The lands in Shropshire now again reverted to the King, and the earldom of Shrewsbury being vested in the Crown, the province was governed by a succession of viceroys or stewards who lived at the castle. The first of these was Richard de Belmeis, who became Bishop of London. Eadmer, one of the old chroniclers, says 'he was a very able man in secular affairs,' and Shrewsbury is said to have improved under his stewardship. In these unsettled and turbulent times his great tact, religious principles and calm temperament commanded respect.

St. Paul's, London, built by Sebert, the Saxon, on the site of a Roman temple, was destroyed in 1087. Richard de Belmeis founded another church, and he and his successor, Maurice, a Norman Bishop, devoted the greater part of their revenues to this great work. In his latter days he lived at St. Osyth, to which Priory he had been a benefactor, and there he died. His nephew, Philip de Belmeis, was Lord of Tong, and gave liberal gifts to the Church. He also gave lands to Lilleshall and Buildwas. He was succeeded by a relative, also named Philip, who was followed by his brother Ranulph. He died without issue in 1167.

The manor of Tong and his possessions were inherited by Alice, his sister, who, having married Alan la Zouche, the inheritance went to that family. Hugh de Belmeis, a younger branch of this family, was a vassal to the lord of Tong, 1255, in the reign of Henry III.

In the parish of Albrighton, near Tong, there is a house

called Beamish Hall, and the name is still found in the neighbourhood of Tong, among the poorer classes, and probably represents the ancient family of Belmeis or Beaumes. The same is most likely the origin of Beaman —a name well known in Shropshire.

To return to Richard de Belmeis. As steward, Shrewsbury, as already said, prospered under his rule, and through his influence Henry endeavoured to conciliate his English subjects. Pain Fitzalan succeeded him, and during his stewardship Henry I. visited Shrewsbury, and on his return to London, summoning his court and his barons, he, in their presence, gave the county of Shropshire to Adela, his second wife, daughter of Geoffry of Louvain. Queen Adela appointed William Fitzalan as her steward. He supported the cause of the King's daughter, Maude, lawful successor to his throne.

In July, 1138, the usurper Stephen laid siege to Shrewsbury Castle, and took it. Ordericus says that 'Arnulf, uncle of Fitzalan, having joined in the rebellion and induced others to do so, was summoned, after the fortress was taken, to the presence of the King. He and ninety-three others who had resisted him were hanged.' Large sums were offered for his ransom, but the King preferred vengeance to money, and he was executed. Fitzalan escaped from the castle, and remained in exile until 1152, when Prince Henry took the castle; and when he succeeded to the throne as Henry II. he restored to Fitzalan his lost possessions and his stewardship of the county. Fitzalan had a residence at Wroxeter. The Domesday account of Wroxeter says, 'The Fitzalans, Earls of Arundel, inherited it by lineal descent from Rinaldus Vicecomes.' At

the time Domesday was compiled Rainald was the greatest landholder in Shropshire. He was lord of Upton Magna, and Sheriff under Earl Roger and Earl Hugh, and was employed by the King in the affairs of the Marches, but the King suspecting his loyalty, his connection with the county ceased in 1119.

'Among the barons who had been selected to fill the office of steward was Guarin or Warin the Bald, a man of small stature but of great courage, who bravely encountered the Earl's enemies and maintained tranquillity throughout the provinces under his government. The Earl rewarded him with no less than seventy manors in Shropshire. He gave him his niece, Amise, in marriage, and he stood second man in the county. He, however, died before his son was of age, and Rainald, who was in Normandy, came over to England and married his widow, and became steward. Upton Magna was his chief manor.'

When Hugh, son of Warin, came of age, he succeeded to his inheritance, and Rainald returned to Normandy. The King merged the office of sheriff into the viceroyalty, and Hugh held it in fief. He died without male issue. Alan Fitzalan Flaald received the office by grant from King Henry I., and married Hugh Warin's only daughter. Fitzalan Flaald was the progenitor of the house of Stuart.

It will be remembered that Fleance, son of the murdered Banquo, fled from the reach of Macbeth about 1050, and taking refuge in North Wales with Llewellyn, he fell in love with Guenta, daughter of the Welsh Prince. The above Fitzalan Flaald was their son. He married Avelina de Hesding, by whom he had three sons, William, Walter and Jordan. Walter, his second son, during the time of

the disturbance in the reign of Stephen, took refuge with David, King of Scotland, when he became seneschal to the King. Alexander, great-grandson of Walter, abandoning his own name, styled himself Alexander Stewart, in allusion to his hereditary office. Alan FitzFlaald died in 1114, and was succeeded by William Fitzalan, and he it was who defended Shrewsbury Castle against Stephen, espoused the cause of Maude, and founded Haghmond Abbey. John Fitzalan, a descendant, was buried at Haghmond Abbey in 1267. In right of his mother, Isabel of Albini, he acquired the estate and castle of Arundel. His son was lord of Upton Magna. Among the lords of Shropshire who joined other barons in obtaining Magna Charta, John Fitzalan and Fulke Fitzalan are mentioned.

During the reign of Henry II. the burgesses of Shrewsbury enjoyed many of the privileges which they had enjoyed in the time of Edward the Confessor, but they were liable to be taxed at the King's pleasure. Stephen was grandson of William the Conqueror, being son of his daughter Adela, and of Stephen, Count of Blois, whom she had married. (Stephen married Matilda, daughter of Eustace, Count of Boulogne.) Maude, daughter of Henry I., was the lawful successor to her father's throne, but Stephen was permitted to retain his usurped throne on condition that Maude's son Henry should succeed him. He reigned from 1135 to 1154, and was engaged in constant scenes of tumult, but of him no acts of cruelty or oppression are recorded, though his reign is described as a continuous scene of bloodshed and horror. David of Scotland took up Maude's cause, and a battle was fought at Northallerton, Yorkshire. It was called 'the battle of the Standard,'

because the English carried a large cross bearing the names of different saints. Stephen was defeated at Lincoln, and imprisoned at Bristol. Maude (or Matilda as she is sometimes called) was crowned, but she did not please her subjects, and was compelled to leave the kingdom. Maude had married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou.

Henry II., her son, succeeded, and was crowned at Westminster, Lincoln, and Worcester. In right of his father, mother and wife, he had great possessions in France. He was first of the Plantagenet kings. It was a name given to his father Geoffrey, who used to wear a spray of the plant genêt (broom). King Henry II. visited Shrewsbury in 1175, when he gave Opetone by Royal Charter to Roger de Mussen.*

Henry II. married the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France. The romantic story of Fair Rosamond and the Queen is well known. Henry II. frequently visited Shropshire. He encouraged trade, commerce and learning, and had the goodwill of the people. He had great capacities as politician, legislator and warrior, but he was proud and vindictive, and destroyed several castles. He subdued the Welsh, but Wales was not annexed to England until Llewellyn was slain, 1283 (Edward I.), and it had not the privilege of sending members to Parliament until the reign of Henry VIII. The princes of Wales before that time were vassals to the kings of England.

In the reign of John, 1199-1216, Shropshire was the scene of many stirring events. The King, as soon as he came to the throne, had granted many charters to the burgesses, and though they were taxed for their privileges,

* See Uppington.

they remained loyal to the King in his struggles with the Welsh. John had endeavoured to conciliate Llewellyn, and had given him in marriage Johanna, his daughter, whose mother was Agatha, daughter of Earl Ferrars, and as her dower the lordship of Ellesmere; but their friendship was of short duration. Llewellyn desired to free the principality, and whilst the King was engaged in other affairs he commenced hostilities. John assembled an army at Whitchurch, July 8, 1211, drove back the Welsh to the mountains, and devastated the country. The Welsh promised submission, and gave the King twenty-eight hostages from their chief families, but they soon broke their engagement—they again rebelled, and John caused the hostages to be cruelly hanged. The King being again in difficulties with his barons, Llewellyn took advantage of the occasion, advanced with an army, and took Shrewsbury (1215). They retained their possession of the ancient Pengwern but for a short time; John in the following year recovered it. He was at Shrewsbury August 14, 1216, the last year of his inglorious reign. He died October 18. His death was caused by his unfortunate march across the Wash, Lincolnshire, where his baggage, his records, and the regalia, which it was then the custom for the King to carry about with him, were lost. He was buried at Worcester, his heart at Fontevraud. King John strongly opposed the authority of the Pope in England. Like his Norman predecessors, he opposed the Roman appointments and investitures. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, appealed to the Pope against these uncanonical intrusions, and inhibited his Legate from making further appointments.

The Pope had been instrumental in obtaining the primacy

for Langton, but he was an Englishman, and therefore refused to do anything that would dishonour his country, injure his countrymen, or harm the national Church. John had promised Langton, who had administered an oath to him, that he would restore the laws of Edward the Confessor. Knowing John's weakness, the Archbishop was not satisfied with a verbal promise, and when the King again submitted to the Pope, Langton, with Robert Fitz-Walter, marshalled themselves against the King and the Pope's Legate, and formed what was called 'The Army of God and Holy Church.'

Langton presented to John the people's claim for their traditional liberties, but the mean-spirited King repudiated his promise to ratify the ancient English laws; the barons and prelates therefore took the field in defence of their rights. Seven knights only were on the King's side, while the whole nation was against him. He met the leaders of the 'Army of God and Holy Church' on that little island on the Thames called Runnymede, where he signed the Great Charter, one clause of which runs thus: 'That the *Church of England* shall be free, and hold her right entire, and her liberties inviolate.' English Churchmen have still the right to maintain that this charter shall be the standard by which the rights and liberties of the Church shall be tested.

John was succeeded by Henry III. The regalia having been lost, he was crowned with a piece of gold wire, said to have been formed from a bracelet of his mother's, Isabella of Angoulême. In his time Shrewsbury was frequently the scene of deadly feuds between the Welsh and the English. During his long reign (1216-1272) he visited Shrewsbury six times—twice in 1220, in 1226, 1232, 1241,

1267. These visits were sometimes for the purpose of making treaties with the Welsh, or for chastising them for breaking their promises of fealty.

In the first year of Henry III.'s reign, 1217, Louis VIII., King of France, invaded England with a fleet, was defeated at Lincoln May 19, and driven from our coast by Hubert de Burgh, who, gaining the windward side, caused quicklime to be thrown in the face of the enemy. In 1224 Llewellyn again came with an army, spreading devastation everywhere. He burnt the town (Shrewsbury) and carried off great booty, but the burgesses remained loyal to the King. The town and county were at this time in great danger of being lost to the King. The barons, being angry at the King's partiality for foreigners, revolted, under Simon de Montford, and the King, his son Edward and his brother Richard were taken prisoners at the battle of Lewes, but Prince Edward escaped, collected an army, and fought the battle of Evesham, where he gained a victory which established the King's authority.

On recovering his freedom King Henry, 'for their fidelity and for the losses they had sustained,' granted to Shrewsbury many privileges, and the burgesses obtained a charter, which is said to have manifested 'a spirit unusually human and enlightened for the age in which it was issued.' The eighteenth clause of this charter recognised and established a 'Merchant Gild,' to which belonged many customs and liberties. Those who did not belong to this gild could not carry on any merchandise in the borough without consent of the burgesses.

Gilds can be traced to remote antiquity. From ancient records among the 'archives of the Corporation,' it is

evident that the gild of Shrewsbury existed before the charter of 1227. The first roll, of which there are nine, commences: 'May the Holy Spirit be present with us.' Henry III. granted a charter to Newcastle to dig for coal. This is the first mention of coal in England.

Among many curious customs of this time, it was lawful, if a burgess of one town owed a debt in another town, for any of the said debtor's fellow-townsmen who might be travelling to be arrested and detained. This law, exemplifying a supreme method of 'bearing one another's burdens,' Henry III. abolished. In his reign four knights of the shire were chosen by each county to make inquiry into the grievances of which their neighbourhood had reason to complain, and they attended the ensuing Parliament to give information of the same and to obtain redress.

Edward I. succeeded his father in 1272, and with his queen, Eleanor of Castile, daughter of Ferdinand III., who is said to have been beautiful and accomplished, spent much time in this county, and transferred his government to Shrewsbury, intending by doing this to strike terror into the hearts of the Welsh. They, fearing his arrival, fled to their accustomed refuge, the mountains of Snowdon.

Llewellyn was compelled to submit to the King's conditions, but in 1282, having become reconciled to his brother David, with whom he had quarrelled, he again rebelled; but Edward was determined to crush the mistaken ardour of the Welsh princes, and for this purpose had assembled an army at Shrewsbury. David was taken prisoner and brought in chains to Shrewsbury, where a Parliament met, September 20, 1283.

In this Parliament there were 110 earls and barons, two knights from each county, and two deputies from the principal cities and towns, of which there were twenty, including Shrewsbury. These witnessed the rigid justice of their King, and the earliest assembly of that popular representation in the constitution to which England has hitherto been indebted for its prosperity.

At this time it is supposed that the castle was being restored, for the Parliament was held at Acton Burnel, the Lords sitting in the castle and the Commons in a barn—Dodsley says in his publication of 1764, 'both of which are still standing.' There the famous statute called the 'Statute Merchant' was enacted for the assurance of debt.

David was tried by the Lords, as his peers, the Commons taking no part in it. He was condemned, and King Henry resolved to make such an example of him as should in future deter the Welsh from disputing his supremacy. The revolting circumstances of his execution are, perhaps, the most horrible Shrewsbury ever witnessed. After the conquest of Wales Shrewsbury lost some of its importance, but that which it gained in tranquillity greatly exceeded what it lost of its former distinctions, and a better time dawned again upon the ancient metropolis.

London at this time was a city of very small circumference. Holborn existed in pleasant gardens; the Strand was a long beach upon the river; Charing Cross a rural village; Covent Garden the extensive grounds of a convent; Haymarket had its hedgerows, its fields and trees.

Edward II. was received in 1322 with great loyalty by the Salopians. The burgesses went out to meet and conduct him into their well-fortified city. Roger Mortimer, whose

mother was Gladws, daughter of Llewellyn, and his uncle, Roger Mortimer of Chirk, came to do him homage. Edward, having them in his power, sent them prisoners to the Tower. This the burgesses resented, and joined the barons in a revolution which terminated in the murder of the King at Berkeley Castle. He is said at one time to have sought refuge in the mountains in Wales.

During the long and glorious reign of Edward III. (1327-1377), Wales being entirely subdued, tumults ceased in Shrewsbury, and no particular events are recorded except that the city was visited by a terrible pestilence called the Black Death. At that time this plague raged throughout Europe. Edward is said to have died of sorrow for the death of his son Edward, the Black Prince. He died at Sheen, Richmond, having survived his son one year. The Black Prince adopted the motto still used by the Princes of Wales, 'Ich dien'—I serve.

CHAPTER XV.

RECORDS OF SHREWSBURY.

'Their memory still lives in our records,
So much more durable is paper than brass and marbles.'

In the time of our early Norman rulers, of whose connection with Shrewsbury a small outline has been given, there was in the western suburb of the city, called Francheville (now Frankwell), a hospital dedicated to St. John, which continued until the dissolution. A chapel dedicated to St. George was annexed to the hospital of St. John. In the eastern suburb near St. Giles' Church, in the time of Henry II., there was a hospital for lepers.

'It was decreed in the Council of Lateran, 1175, that when a number of leprous persons are gathered together in company, they shall be permitted to enjoy to themselves a churchyard, to be no ways injurious or prejudicial to the rights of parish churches. The leprous and lazar-houses were not compelled to pay tithes of the increase of their own proper cattle.'

A hospital was founded at Bridgenorth by Edward IV. The name of the custos of the hospital was, in process of time, changed to Prior. Ludlow had a hospital, and there were at this time houses and convents for Jews.

The custody of the Severn, care of its navigation, and preservation of its fish, attracted the attention of the early kings. It has already been said that Richard II. expressed great attachment to Shropshire. He held Parliament at Shrewsbury in 1387 and 1398. The latter of these Parliaments conferred upon the King the duties on wool and leather for his life. At that time, by an Act of Parliament, it was also declared that the kingdom was independent of all foreign power, particularly of the Court of Rome.

1421. Rees ap Doe, a Welsh squire, was hanged and quartered at Shrewsbury for treason.

1422. Printing and publishing was carried on at Shrewsbury, and it ranked as one of the first towns in England.

1454 (Henry VI.). Corn was so plentiful that it sold at one shilling and twopence per quarter, and malt at one shilling and fourpence per quarter.

1485. The plague, by some called the 'sweating sickness,' because the disease was cured by sweating, broke out in Shrewsbury. It was said to have been brought to England by the army of Henry VII., when they landed at Milford Haven, Pembrokeshire. The King and his courtiers suffered from it, and many of the latter died.

1519 (Henry VIII.). Brewers were ordered not to use hops in their brewings, under the penalty of six shillings and eightpence. Before this time, in 1428, Parliament was petitioned to prevent the use of them, as being a 'wicked weed' (Philips).

1523 (Henry VIII.). Shrewsbury was made the see of a Suffragan Bishop, styled 'Suffragan of the Realm of England.' Twenty-five other towns had the same appointment at this time.

1525. The plague swept away great numbers, and was followed by a famine; many died of starvation.

1531. Lord Rees ap Thomas was beheaded here.

1539. Richard Brewer, passing through the gate on the Welsh bridge, 'it blew to, caught his head between the post, and squeezed out his brains.'

1547. The first year of King Edward VI., the pictures of Our Lady from St. Mary's Church, and of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Chad from St. Chad's Church, were burnt in the corn-market.

1551. The plague again broke out at Shrewsbury, and 1,000 died of it. It continued six months; it is said to have attacked chiefly middle-aged men, while old men, women and children escaped. It was very bad in other parts of the world. The sickness lasted about twenty-four hours, and if the patients slept during this time they seldom awoke.

1568. 'At Whitsuntide was a notable stage-playe played at Shrewsbury, which lasted all the holly-days, unto which came great numbers of people, of Noblemen and others, the which was praysed greatly, and the chyffe actor thereof was one Master Aston, beinge the head master of the free scoole there, a godly and lerened man, who took marvelous great paynes therein. This year the Queen ordered that all such who are or have been bailliffs, and their wives, should wear scarlet gowns on scarlet days' (Taylor's ancient MS.).

1570. Two men were killed by the falling of the clapper out of one of the bells of the Abbey whilst they were ringing the great bell called St. Winifrede.

1571. Mr. Humphrey Onslow built the Chapel of Our Lady in St. Chad's Church, and repaired the pavement in Frankwell (Francheville), and made a great causeway from

the Council House, then called the Lords' Place (House of Lords), to the market-cross, which was where the post-office now stands, at the top of Pride Hill.

1575 (Elizabeth). The plague again broke out.

1576. On December 20 a luminous cross was seen for half an hour in the heavens over the town.

1579, August 10. The judges at the assizes sat under the new building in the market-house, on a temporary platform, the building not being complete.

1581. John Capper, clerk of the Abbey, was hanged on Kingsland for treason.

1582. One John Prestige was hanged three days upon a gibbet, for murdering his wife by throwing her over the stone bridge.

1584. A play was acted in High Street, before the Apple Market, by the Earl of Essex's men.

1588. Richard Reynolds was put into the pillory for setting fire to a sheepcote at Cockshut. A great number of sheep belonging to his brother-in-law, Gammar, were burnt.

1593. Corn was sold at twenty shillings per bushel, and rye at sixteen shillings per bushel.

1594. A fast was ordered by the bailiffs on Sunday, August 11. Most of the inhabitants went to St. Mary's Church and remained there, hearing sermons, praying and bewailing their sins, from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

1604. The plague again visited the town, and nearly 700 died.

1607. Mardol Quay built by Rowland Jenks, for which he received a grant of so much land on the east side of the Welsh bridge to him and his heirs for ever.

1614. One Cobs rode from Shrewsbury to London between the hours of 3 a.m. and 5 p.m.—156 miles.

1630 (Charles I.). The plague again broke out. The people fled. A pest-house was built on Kingsland, and the market was held on Saturdays at Old Heath, on Wednesdays near the town.

1647. A woman burnt in the Quarry Dingle for poisoning her husband.

1709. Dr. Sacheverel came to Shrewsbury. A great escort of horsemen went out to meet him. This year there was a great frost, from Christmas until March. Sheep were roasted on the Severn. A great printing-press was set up.

1752. Two houses on the stone bridge fell into the water on Christmas Day, whilst the people were in church.

1772. An earthquake caused great terror; it continued twelve seconds.

1774. A great fire in Abbey Foregate; forty-seven houses, sixteen barns, four shops, and several stacks burnt. £794 18s. 9d. was raised for the sufferers, 10s. 9d. per cent. was returned to the contributors. A fire-engine was bought by subscription.

Curious Burials.

Robert of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bangor, who wrote the life of St. Winifrede, was, at his own request, buried (1215, John) in the middle of the market-place at Shrewsbury. 'In those times of commotion and disturbance,' says Fuller, 'his body would be disturbed sooner if laid in a church than in a market-place.' He was imprisoned by King John in his own cathedral.

A story is told of Edward Burton of Longnor, who, on

the day of Queen Elizabeth's accession, hearing a general ringing of the bells at Shrewsbury, and longing to hear the truth, but fearing to send his servants to inquire, sent his eldest son, a youth of sixteen, telling him if the bells rang for the Lady Elizabeth to throw up his hat in the air at some place where he might see it. The boy, finding it was as expected, threw up his hat, which his father seeing, he was affected with such extremity of joy that he turned from the window, with difficulty gained a chair, and died. His friends, desiring to carry out a wish expressed in his will, that he should be buried at Shrewsbury in St. Chad's Church, brought his corpse there. The Roman Catholic priest, who was still in place there, declared that Mr. Burton, who was a heretic, could not be buried there. The body was taken back to Longnor and interred in his own grounds, and a monument relating to this event was placed over him.

Great Floods at Shrewsbury.

1338. There was a great flood occasioned by rains from October to December.

1348. From violent and incessant rains, from Midsummer to Christmas, a flood arose. During that time there was not twenty-four hours together of dry weather.

1673. During a great flood a small whale came up the Severn, and was caught.

1740. The greatest flood in the memory of any inhabitant. It flowed into the Abbey, and injured the floors and pews.

1748. In this flood a dolphin, one yard four inches long, came up the river and was captured.

1770. A flood nearly a foot higher than that of 1740.

1869. This year there was a flood said to be the highest

ever known. Boats were rowed along the aisle of the abbey to rescue books, cushions, etc. The inhabitants of this part of the town had to take refuge in the upper stories of their houses, and food was brought to them, at much risk, in boats.

The Quarry.

The Quarry, which covers over twenty acres of land, is so called from there having formerly been a quarry there. Here are the finest avenues of limes in Europe. The much-talked-of Linden (limes) in Berlin can in no way be compared to these. The Quarry lies between the walls and the river on the south side of the town. Besides the long avenue on the bank of the river, there are three others leading from the town. In each of them the trees are of magnificent growth, and meeting continuously at their tops, the effect is very beautiful.

A legend relating to the planting of the limes in the Quarry says that in the early part of the eighteenth century a shrewd and clever gardener named Wright, who had made a large fortune at Shrewsbury by his trade as a nurseryman, wishing to benefit the town, proposed to plant the Quarry, but the Mayor at that time, being a strong Conservative, refused to allow any such innovation.

Wright was probably much in advance of his time, and had great skill in the rearing and planting of trees, which acquired for him the reputation of being possessed of magical powers. Nothing daunted at being refused permission to do what he proposed, and relying upon his reputation as a 'conjuror,' he with two or three of his best workmen planted the trees in a single night; and when on

the following morning the Mayor saw them he greatly admired the graceful young saplings, and they were permitted to remain, where they have grown up to such great perfection.

A kind of amphitheatre was afterwards formed with seats thereon, the remains of which were to be seen until a few years ago, when, as if again by magic, the wild spot was changed into a flower-garden with a lake in the centre. From this time it is here that the Salopians have been accustomed to exercise themselves in the sports of their age. If Wright—in the spirit—is ever permitted to visit the great horticultural shows held there in the present day, he must be highly gratified to see the progress which has been made in the art of gardening.

Before the Reformation the Feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated in procession here, and the richest treasures of the church were brought out to grace it.

The antiquities of Shrewsbury are too numerous to be described here. There still exists a great quantity of beautiful and elaborate wood-carving in many parts of the town. On the Wyle Cop, in a room entered from the stable-yard of the Unicorn Inn, there is a fine specimen of an old carved oak chimney-piece, in a good state of preservation.

The Council House and other houses round the court contain a great quantity of beautiful old oak. It was here that kings of a later date lived and held their parliaments.

In a house on Dogpole, called in ancient documents 'The Olde House,' an old painting over one of the chimney-pieces has been discovered. In the centre are the arms of

France and England, surrounded by a royal crown; on either side a pomegranate and a Tudor rose, white and red, twice repeated. The pomegranate was first used in England as a royal badge when Katherine of Aragon was married to Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII.

Soon after the marriage, November 6, 1501 (he died April 2, 1502), the prince and his young bride came to Ludlow. The room they occupied there is still pointed out. They would without doubt visit Shrewsbury, and this was probably one of the royal residences. Queen Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., presided here over the Court in 1525, and it is probable that this picture commemorates her residence there.

In Queen Elizabeth's time plays were acted by the students at the schools. In 1565 one called 'Julian the Apostate' was acted; in 1567 'The Passion of Christ.' At this performance Queen Elizabeth intended to be present, and had travelled as far as Coventry; but, hearing then that the play was over, she returned hastily to London, to the great disappointment of the Salopians; but it is believed that either before or after this date she visited the town and inspected the schools.

On Kingsland the incorporated companies formerly entertained the Mayor and Corporation the day fortnight after Whit Monday. A relic of this old custom was kept up until recent years by a grand procession on this day, which is still called 'Show Monday.' Great crowds formerly visited the town on these occasions. The celebrated horticultural fêtes are now a greater attraction, and are visited by many thousands of people. Until recently there was a thread and cotton manufactory here, but owing to Free Trade it

was removed to America. There was also formerly a cloth factory near the Welsh bridge.

Dr. S. H. Spiker, in his 'Travels through England,' 1830, says that at that time 'the English bridge was disfigured by a mill under its centre arch.'

The Schools.

Dodsley (published 1764) says, 'Here is one of the largest schools in England, first endowed by Edward VI. Elizabeth rebuilt it from the ground, and further endowed it. It is a fine fabric, with good library and chapel and convenient houses for the masters, of which there are three, with salaries from £30 to £100 a year, besides three ushers with salaries from £10 to £20 a year.

'This building and endowment are not inferior to some of the colleges in Oxford and Cambridge. The inhabitants speak English except on market-days, when the language is Welsh. There is plenty of provision, especially salmon and other river fish.

'The town is pleasantly situated, and it is full of gentry,* who have assemblies and balls here once a week all the year round.

'The town has for many years been famous for delicate cakes and excellent brawn.†

'In 1747 the infirmary for sixty patients was opened.'

The following is a more recent and detailed account of the schools :

* The names of several of the old county families are still attached to different houses, which were their town residences. As late as the early part of this century the old town had its 'season.'

† Sent to the Queen now at Christmas, also Shrewsbury cakes.

The Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, appoint the Head-Master of Shrewsbury School, who must have been educated there, and be a native of the borough.

It is free to the sons of burgesses.

It has four exhibitions of £80 per annum at Christ Church, Oxford, founded by Mr. Careswell.*

Four of £70 at St. John's College, Cambridge.

Six of £70 at Magdalen College, Cambridge.

Four of £18 at St. John's College, Cambridge.

One of £70 unrestricted as to University.

Two of £25 open to Oxford and Cambridge, founded by Mr. Smith.

One of £28 unrestricted, founded by Dr. Taylor.

One £60 Fellowship at Magdalen College, Cambridge.

At Bridgenorth Free Grammar School, founded 1503, there are three exhibitions of £80 per annum to Christ Church, Oxford, founded by Mr. Careswell.* These are tenable for seven years. If the exhibitioner does not reside after taking his degree, he has only £21 per annum for the remaining three years.

Wem Free Grammar School for children of the parish has three scholarships of £80 per annum for seven years at Christ Church, Oxford ; recipients must have been two and a half years at the school.

Some of the streets in Shrewsbury tell of the Norman times, as Frankwell (Francheville), Murivance (Mur d'Avance).

Pride Hill, one of the principal streets, took its name from Roger Pryde.

* See 'Donington Free Grammar School,' Chapter XI.

The following is from the Patent Rolls:

10 Edward I.—Exemption for one year of Roger Pryde, burgess of Shrewsbury, from being put on assizes, juries and recognizances, and from appointment as Sheriff, Coroner, or other minister of the King against his will.

Dokepoll was the ancient name of Dogpole, but its meaning is obscure. It might have been from Ducking-pool or Duckpool.*

Sharman's Hall, Shrewsbury.†

This ancient hall, which stood at the end of High Street, remained until the year 1891, and was an interesting relic of those early times when a great merchandise in wool was carried on in Shropshire. The date of the hall is not known. It was probably built in the early part of the thirteenth century, and remains, which from time to time have been discovered, give evidence of its having been originally a very handsome and important structure. Besides other decorations it is said to have had handsome painted windows. There were several of these halls, used for the same merchandize, in other parts of the town, remains of which have also been discovered, but this was the principal one.‡ These halls had no doubt been built on the sites of ancient structures.

It was the custom for strangers coming to the town to visit these halls as among the greatest 'sights.'

The merchants are said to have been distinguished for

* Patent Rolls, memb. 20.

† From shearing-man, or sheep-shearer.

‡ Chorlton's Hall was one of them.

their hospitality. The following record from the 'Ancient Booke' of the Shearmen's Company tells of their hospitality as dispensed in 1598:

'3^{d}. For two pottes of ale bestowed upon Mrs. Pryce and other gentlewomen, who came to see the hall before ours was abroach.'*

It was a custom with the Norman Kings to raise money by their own power, without any right of taxation. During the reign of Henry III. there is a continual record of money thus obtained. Fairs for trade and amusement were sometimes held, and were sources of revenue.

The money granted by Parliament to Edward I. in 1297 not being sufficient for his necessities, which, considering his numerous family,† must have been great, he exerted his arbitrary power, limited the quantity of wool allowed to be exported, and forced the merchants to pay a duty of forty shillings a sack, which was sometimes one-third of its value. He also seized large quantities, which he disposed of for his own benefit.

In a Parliament held at Shrewsbury by Richard II., 1398,

* An item in the Royal Household Book, 17 Henry VIII., called 'Bouche of Court,' shows that ladies of high degree took ale at all times of the day:

'The Queen's Maids to have among them for their bouche in the morning, one chet lofe, one manchet, one gallon of ale. Dayly a chyne of beef, served to them for breakfast.

'For afternoon.—One manchet, one gallon of ale.

'For after supper.—One chet lofe, one manchet, two gallons of ale, one pitcher of wine.' 'Bouche' signifies small refreshments between meals.

† By Eleanor of Castile, a beautiful, accomplished and witty queen, he had eleven daughters and four sons; by Margaret of France, two sons and one daughter.

the duties of wool and leather were conferred upon the King for life.

During many centuries the chief wealth of England consisted in sheep and cattle. The immense flocks and herds which were kept, partly in a wild state, increased to great numbers, and shepherds and cowherds were employed to look after them. Besides the merchandise of wool, a vast quantity of leather was made from the hides. Enormous flocks of sheep were kept upon the hills in Shropshire, and in the olden times the wool-merchants of Shrewsbury were men of great importance. They frequently received great favours from kings, but at times they were hardly dealt with by their royal masters.

In the early part of the thirteenth century a quarrel arose between Henry III. of England and Margaret of Flanders, which led to restriction in the wool trade.

It was the custom to bring the sheep down from the hills to be shorn of their wool. Thousands were washed in the Severn, and, when shorn, they were re-marked by their respective owners. The wool was exhibited in Shrewsbury, and great quantities sent away in barges down the Severn.

ROT. PATENT, 2 EDWARD I., MEMB. 15, *d*.

Forma brevis de Lanis.

Rex omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem. Cum nuper per totum regnum nostrum inhiberi fecimus ne lane alique per quoscumque ducerentur extra regnum nostrum nec per hoc intenderimus quod mercatores terræ nostræ impedirentur quin ipsi infra regnum nostrum de lanis et aliis mercandisis suis in Civita-

tibus Burgis nundinis et mercatis negotiari et eos per stratas publicas et vias communes per totum regnum ad loca quibus sibi expedire viderint ducere possent, vobis mandamus quod Thomam de Basing Civem London de Lanis et atris mercimoniis suis libere et prout temporibus retroactis facere consuevit negotiari et commodum suum facere permittatis nec ipsum aut suos impediatis quin lanas et alia mercimonia sua ad Civitates burges nundinas et mercata in regno nostro ducere possit ad commodum suum infra idem regnum nostrum inde faciendum in forma predicta Dum tamen ea non ducat vel duci faciat extra idem regnum nostrum nec ad opus flandrensis aut aliquorum qui sint de potestate Comitisse flandrensis in regno nostro negotiari sed cum eis in aliquo communicare presumat durante contencione inter nos et Comitissam predictam. In cujus, etc., duranturum vesque ad festum sancti Michaelis proximo futurum. Datum apud Westmonasterium xxx. die Maii.

Consimiles litteras habet Ricardus Booreye mercator de Salopia duranturas vt supra duplicatas.

The following is a translation of the Latin document held by Richard Booreye :

Richard Booreye, merchant of Shrewsbury, has exemption from prohibition to carry wool, or other merchandise, to London or other parts of England, or to export to foreign parts.*

It is recorded that when Edward I. held Court at Shrewsbury, July 1, 1285, he directed his beloved clerk Elias de

* Patent Rolls, 2 Edward I., memb. 15, *dorso ;* original copy in Record Office.

Beckenham, Keeper of his Rolls, 'to write of the Bench 20s. for his costs and charges respecting the conveyance of the same from Westminster to our town of Salop, when we were in our expeditions of Wales.' And we are told by Fabyan that the Rolls were greatly damaged by the rain on the way back from Salop.

Clothworkers.

The ancient Company of Clothworkers was closely connected with the merchandise of wool. The manufacture of cloth in this country had a peculiar interest, and dates from the earliest times. History tells us that garments worn at the Court of Rome soon after the invasion were manufactured in Britain, and no doubt the arts of weaving and dyeing were of an antiquity much more remote than the arrival of the Romans in this country.

Queen Boadicea, when she went to battle against these invaders, 'wore flowing garments of rich colours.' Crimson and blue were much used, the latter colour made from the far-famed 'woad;' and the garments of the Imperial Roman armies were supplied from the cloth manufactories at Winchester.

The early Saxon queens were skilful in spinning, and instructed their daughters in the art.

Britain long retained the supremacy in the production of wool. The famous breed of Spanish sheep called 'Merino' is said to have been originally imported from England in the reign of Henry II., and first called 'marino' because brought by the sea. English wool at that time sold at a very high price in foreign markets, and when gold was scarce it was sometimes used instead of money.

In 1342 Edward III. sent a large quantity of wool to Cologne to redeem the crown of his Queen (Philippa), which had been pawned for £2,000. Edward IV. sent a present of Cotswold rams to Henry of Castile and to John of Aragon.

By an ancient statute for the protection of the wool trade it was enacted that all corpses should be buried in wool only, under a forfeiture of £5 to the poor of the parish. This statute was in force about two hundred years. Shrouds made of fine wool carefully arranged are said to have been very beautiful.

In the time of Edward I. a civic ordinance was issued that 'no person shall cause cloth to be woven for sale except in the City [of London], or in the Portsoken, or within the franchise of the City, and not in Southwark, under pain of forfeiture and loss of such wool;' and that no cloth was to be dyed black nor dark-blue except by woad.

Until the sixteenth century the trade had several subdivisions, which included shearmen, fullers, burrellers (measurers), testers, drapers, and tailors.

The several crafts were amalgamated by Henry VIII., and he gave to them the name of 'The Company of Clothworkers.' The company still exists, and one of its ancient customs is still observed, which is that of giving a piece of cloth (about six and a half yards) at Christmas to the Prime Minister, the Ministers of the Crown, and to some others of the leading officials. These Christmas presents are, however, no longer the actual gifts of the Company of Clothworkers, but of the Corporation of the City of London.

Choice samples of cloth are sent to the Guildhall, and experts, or 'testers,' are employed to examine the quality of

the various specimens sent for inspection, and the distinguished persons themselves review their gifts some days before they are presented. But it must be added that not a single manufactory of cloth now exists in London. One of the great northern companies now supplies the cloth for presentation.

It is a quaint old custom which speaks to us of the past. May it long continue!

CHAPTER XVI.

LEGENDS AND OLD STORIES.

THE legends and traditions of the olden times form the mystic history of our forefathers. Many of them have passed through numerous modifications, and have eventually been transformed into nursery rhymes, the delight of childhood. Much important knowledge has, however, been gained from them, and a relationship between nations and tribes established which would but for them have remained obscure. And there are generally found in them traces of historical truth. There are many old stories relating to the curious assemblages of stones which are very numerous in this part of Shropshire. Many people look upon them as evidences only of the idolatry and superstition of bygone times.

'Giants' seats' and 'devil's chairs' are lightly spoken of, yet who can say that they might not have been raised by the same affection which induces us in our day to raise memorials in hewn stone which perish so soon, as if the words of Scripture (Exod. xx. 25) should be verified—that the tools used have polluted them?

'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity,' might be said of all earthly memorials. Nevertheless, the study of stones, which has been described as 'a fascinating riddle,' is a

most interesting one, and will repay those who give it attention. On the Clee Hills and on the Titterstones, circles of stones of great antiquity are found. Leland says: 'Clee Hills be holy in Shropshire.' The Hoarstone or Marshpool Circle and Madges Penfold, near Minsterly, are probably memorials of some incident or event. These stones, never having been alluded to by any historian, can only be considered a proof of their antiquity, and it is impossible for any who give any thought to this subject to look upon these ancient monuments, which have endured through long ages, without being filled with awe, not unmixed with reverence. That giants lived in those days was believed as an undoubted fact, and they play a great part in the ancient legends. Wroxeter, as late as the time of the Fitzwarrens, is said to have been taken possession of by giants.

Dodsley (1764) tells us that 'human bones were found at Shrewsbury of a surprising magnitude, several of the teeth measuring three inches in length and as much round, and thigh bones three feet long.' In 1870 human bones of huge proportions were also found at Wroxeter. It is believed that many of the ancient Britons, among them the Druids, were of gigantic stature. The Saxons looked upon them as giants and devils, and held them accordingly in terror and abhorrence. It would appear that they were numerous in this locality, for the name is recorded in many places.

We have a 'Devil's Mouth' on the Longmynd, a 'Devil's Causeway' between Stretton and Wenlock, and a 'Devil's Bridge' at Buildwas. These mighty men of old are said to have met once every year on the longest night on the highest of the Stiperstones (near Shrewsbury) to choose their king,

and here also we have a 'Devil's Chair.' The demon, so says the story, carried the stones there himself in a leathern apron, intending to make a comfortable seat for himself, from whence he could view the country round, but some of the stones having fallen from the apron without his observation, and those remaining in it not being sufficient for his purpose, he tumbled them out of his apron in three heaps, cursed them, and fled! Thus they have remained. The largest heap is the Devil's Chair.

The early Christians, still superstitious, believed that at certain times the devil came and held forth from these chairs. The most splendid festival of this kind was held in the Hartz Mountains, on the Brocken, the celebrated 'Walpurgis Nacht.' The devil is believed still to attend the carousal. It is possible that some of the superstitious stories arose from the fact that in the early days of Christianity the heathen worshippers during their mysterious sacrifices dressed themselves like goblins and monsters in the skins of animals, and danced around their altars, carrying torches to awe and scare away the Christians from interrupting them.

'And during the early Christian ages, when the minds of men were still under the influence of pagan superstition, it was necessary for the civil and ecclesiastical governments either to endure the practice of certain ceremonies and amusements to which the people had been accustomed, or to substitute others similar to them. One of these, the feast of Calends, was very ancient, and a great favourite. It had arisen out of the Roman Saturnalia, and resembled the excesses of a carnival.

'Amidst various absurdities men ran through the streets

disguised as old women, some as animals. Hence the ceremony was sometimes called Vetula Cervula.

'These festivities prevailed at the New Year. St. Augustine, in one of his sermons, menaces severe punishment against all who should encourage it. During the twelfth century in French churches it was called "La fête des soudiacres" (sub-deacons), because they, and even higher dignitaries of the Church, are said to have degraded themselves by joining in them, and hence probably arose the name of "La Feste aux Folx"—the Feast of Fools.'*

This feast of fools made its way into England, but vestiges of it are less numerous than in France. On New Year's Day in some parts of England people disguise themselves with horses' heads and go about making merry. Our morris-dancers had their origin in some of these ancient festivities.

Cruden in his 'Concordance' (pub. 1769) says: 'Great heaps of stones, raised up for a witness of any memorable event, and to preserve the remembrance of some matter of great importance, are the most ancient monuments among the Hebrews. In those elder days, before the use of writing, these monuments were used instead of inscriptions, medals and history.'

But it is from the Holy Scriptures that we learn how, when, and where, from the earliest times, both altars and monuments of stone were raised, and the God of Israel was known as 'the Shepherd of the stone' (Gen. xlix. 24; Isa. xxviii. 16). The first mention of an assembly of worshippers is (Gen. iv. 25) when, on the birth of Enos, son of Seth, 'men began to call upon the name of the Lord.'

Abraham sets apart a place for worship (Gen. xxi. 33),

* *Archæologia*, vol. xv., chap. xxi.

and plants a grove or tree. This was afterwards forbidden, because it led to concealment and abominations, and the anger of the Lord caused them to be destroyed (1 Kings xiv. 22-24; 2 Kings xvii. 10, 11). When God gave the commandments to Moses, He gave him directions concerning the altar that should be raised, on which His people should worship Him in sacrifice. A simple altar of earth was commanded, but they were not to be restricted to this kind of altar, for it is added, 'And if thou wilt build Me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone; if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it' (Exod. xx. 25; Deut. xxvii. 5; Josh. viii. 30). And the solemn promise is given by the Lord Jehovah that 'In all places where I record My name, I will come unto thee and I will bless thee' (Exod. xx. 24). This promise, which is extended to all, should impress upon us the duty and privilege of attending those places of worship where the name of God is recorded, and when we reverence His holy sanctuary we should plead His gracious promise, 'Them that honour Me I will honour.'

Jacob's stone, upon which he slept and dreamt, with which he raised his Bethel, was the type and foundation of every house of God from that time. On the grave of Achan, son of Carmi, of the tribe of Judah, who had troubled Israel, was raised 'a great heap of stones unto this day' (Josh. vii. 26).

'A very great heap of stones' was laid upon Absolom's grave, and 'in his lifetime he had taken and raised up for himself a pillar, for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance' (2 Sam. xviii. 17, 18).

When Joshua raised the twelve stones which were to represent the twelve tribes of Israel, he impressed upon the

people the necessity of telling their children for what purpose the stones were raised, in order that they should be a memorial to the children of Israel for ever (Josh. iv. 6, 7).

In the succeeding ages the same customs prevailed in all countries, and the heaps of stones found on mountains are believed to have been raised both for sacrifice and for memorials. The smoke of sacrifice in some extinct form of worship, carried on for ages, must have gone up from our mountains, but the 'heaps of stones,' the cromlechs and the circles, which have survived every form of civilized structure, are all that remain unto this day to speak to us of that far-distant time.

Evidence of similar customs in different parts of the world has been found in the resemblance between the circles at Stonehenge and those on the coast of Phœnicia. This might also be taken as a convincing proof that the Princess Zenobia was not the only Phœnician who found in our island an agreeable and permanent dwelling-place. It is believed probable that the Druids adopted rather than instituted the circles and cromlechs. There are various theories respecting their ancient origin, many of them interesting and extremely intelligent, but, with all due respect for the suggestions of the learned, they are but theories! The great diversity of opinions proves how far even those who have made it their particular study are from a satisfactory reply to that difficult question, 'What mean ye by these stones?'

In India stone circles are still used for sacrifice, and the Arab stands without the circle, with his face towards the rising sun. From the earliest times it has been the custom for all worshippers to turn to the East (Ezek. viii. 16), and this ancient custom survives in Christian churches.

There are some curious stones on Mount Carmel called 'Elijah's Melons;' near Bethlehem are seen 'St. Mary's Peas,' both said to have been turned into stones because the owners refused to supply the wants of the prophet and the saint.

The Caziques, natives of one of the West India islands discovered by Columbus, possessed three stones which both princes and people worshipped. One of them presided over corn and grain, another affected women in childbirth, the third had an influence on the weather. The god Terminus, who presides over boundaries, was, according to the custom of the age, represented by a stone, and he was the only one among all the deities who refused to yield his place, even to Jupiter himself.

We have no knowledge of the appliances which, in many instances, must have been used in raising large stones. Many of the learned have made this subject their special study, and all have agreed that 'the might' which we know does *not* 'slumber in the peasant's arm,' never raised them to the positions in which we find them.

A tradition quoted by Pliny says: 'The architect of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, despairing of being able to raise the stone which was to be placed over the entrance, its size being sixteen feet in length and of an enormous weight, he offered up a prayer to the goddess for assistance, and she fixed the stone in its place herself.'

There is a beautiful legend in Cornwall relating to Morwenstow. It is said to be named after Morwenna, daughter of Brea-chen,* a British chief of the ninth century. Ethelwolf, King of England, having given the guidance of his

* Brecon took its name from him.

sons to St. Swithin, asked Brea-chen to send his daughter to be companion and instructress to his daughter, the Princess Edith; and, being so much pleased with her, he said he would give her whatsoever she asked of him. Then said Morwenna, 'Sir, there is a stately headland in far Cornwall, rugged and tall, called the Kenna Cliff, or Raven's Crag, and it looks along the Severn Sea. Often in wild Wales I have watched across the waves till the westering sunlight fell upon the Cornish rock, and have said in my vows, "Alas! and would to God that a font might be hewn and an altar raised among the stones of yonder barbarous hill." Give me, then, I beseech thee, my lord, a station for a priest in that scenery of my prayer.'

The King granted her request, and they built an altar there, and linked it with Morwenna's name.

In those days ground set apart for a future church was called a station, or, in native language, 'The stone of the martyr or saint who gave the name or origin to the altar-stone.' Hence Morwenstone.

Crosses.

We cannot conclude this subject without adding a few words about crosses; for when Christianity was brought to Britain many of the stones which had served for heathen worship were converted into emblems of the Passion. Some of these crosses are but rude shapes with circular heads, upon which have been carved a cross like the Greek or Maltese; some have the Latin form.

Britain, in the early days of Christianity, had direct communication with the East, and this accounts for the adop-

tion of the Greek cross, and also for the objections made by the British clergy to the observance of the ritual of the Roman Church with regard to the observance of Easter.*

From a number of stones the fittest would be selected to bear the sacred emblems, which would be the means of preserving those particular stones when surrounding ones were carried away, and of leading the heathen worshippers to the true faith.

As time went on crosses were erected which served as prayer stations, or as guides to different places of worship. Many are still found in Cornwall beside the footpaths leading to churches.

In those early days people were more devout than they are now, and offered up prayers at these stations on their way to church, and on these wayside crosses the rich traveller would sometimes deposit alms for the needy who might follow him. Those crosses which were placed near the chief entrance to churches are supposed to have been suggestive of due preparation and reverence before entering the sacred edifice. Congregations were sometimes addressed from these crosses before entering the church. The site of a church was chosen as a memorial of the more ancient indication of early Christianity represented by the crosses.

Baptistries, which were placed near churches, were small chapels built over wells. The remains of these are still to be seen in Cornwall, and the number of places in other counties which are designated by the name of Holywell have had the same origin.

It was customary to wash the hands and feet before entering the church. For this purpose a fountain was placed

* See Note 9, 'Iona, Lindisfarne, and Cuthbert.'

near the church. Reverence was also expressed by kissing the doors, threshold, and pillars of the church. Within, profound silence was observed.

In the early times there were neither wheel-tracks nor fences. The narrow paths over mountains and moorland, which our forefathers in their simplicity said 'were traced by angels,' were no doubt in later times trodden by holy pilgrim and palmer; and on the silent moor and the lonely heath stood the wayside cross, a soothing signal in the solitude and a welcome beacon to guide the wayfaring man.

'Make it plain upon tables that he may run that readeth' (Habakkuk ii. 2.) This is an allusion to the finger-posts at the cross-roads leading to the cities of refuge. There was a tablet placed upon them bearing the one word 'Refuge,' written so large that the homicides might run on whilst reading. The prophet was in like manner to write and make plain the vision so that 'he may run that readeth.'

'For many ages after the introduction of Christianity cross-roads were held sacred, and a cross was placed in the centre, at the meeting of the four roads, and here, in the generous spirit of Christian charity, our forefathers buried their suicides. It was not in accordance with the direction of the Church that the words "sure and certain hope" should be said over them, neither were they buried in consecrated ground. They therefore buried them here under the shadow of the cross.'*

Dugdale says: 'In so great reverence was the church and churchyard held that our forefathers did not dare to use any idle discourse, nor even to spit therein without great necessity. Suicides and naughty men were not suffered to

* Wright's 'Local Legends.'

be buried therein ; neither did they bring hawk or horse upon the ground. If they *did*, it was observed that they died.'*

Even the heathen in the early days of Christianity showed great consideration for these sacred symbols. It was not until the last few centuries that these holy emblems were ruthlessly destroyed. Happily a better spirit has revived, and these ancient relics are reverently raised and treated with respect.

St. Gregory, among the many virtues for which he eulogized his mother Nonna, especially praises her for not coughing or spitting in church, or turning her back upon the altar.

It is possible that some of the ancient crosses escaped destruction through the tradition that misfortune might follow the destroyer.

In Cornwall, near Mount Charles, there is a cross called 'The Prior's Cross,' on which is cut a figure of a hook and a crook, in memory of a certain privilege granted by the said Prior to the poor of Bodmin, for gathering for firs-boots and house-boots such boughs and branches of the oak-trees in the neighbouring wood of Dunmear as they could reach or come at with a hook and a crook without further damage to the trees.'† Hence the well-known proverb of getting things 'by hook or by crook.'

Legend of the Wrekin.

The greatest monster known in Shropshire was the giant who dwelt on a mountain near Shrewsbury, whence his

* Published 1693.

† Dr. Gilbert's 'History of Cornwall,' vol. i., p. 368.

food was supplied. This monster had a voracious appetite : he could eat a whole sheep for his dinner. For the smaller dainties, such as turkeys, geese, or game, he had no particular liking ; the small bones were troublesome to him and sometimes stuck in his teeth. He was especially fond of devouring Shropshire lasses, and kept the peace with Shrewsbury by stipulating that they should supply him with a certain number of these young maidens at stated times every year, or he would destroy their town.

The people lived in mortal fear of their terrible neighbour, and, dreading his threats, they sent the young maidens to him as he demanded.

They never were heard of again, until at last one of them, one day when he was very ill and in great pain, offered to make him some tea that would cure him. She made the tea of a herb that grew on the mountain, which was a very strong narcotic. When he had partaken of it he fell fast asleep, and the young lady made her escape.

Reaching Shrewsbury in great terror, she related what she had done, and also that the dried bones of all the other maidens who had been sent to him she had discovered in a cave, where he had thrown them after he had killed them and devoured their flesh. She had only lived because the giant had been too ill to eat.

When the townspeople heard this they were very indignant, and rose up in a body, declaring they would send no more maidens to be devoured.

When the giant heard this he was very much enraged, and in his wrath he picked up his largest shovel and set off with it heaped full of earth, with which he intended to be revenged upon the Salopians by burying their town under

his burden. But in his rage he missed his way, and found himself at Heygate, near Wellington. Here he met an old cobbler, who was carrying a huge bundle of shoes.

Now, the cobbler, like most of his craft, was a humorous fellow, and very cute about his own interests; and when the giant asked him to direct him in the right way to Shrewsbury, he suspected that he was bent on evil doings. He had heard something of his cruelties and of his awful threat to destroy the town, so he let down his bundle of shoes, and, sitting down upon it, led the giant into conversation and learnt from him his diabolical purpose.

'This will never do,' thought the cobbler to himself, for he gained a livelihood by mending the shoes of the Salopians. He told the giant, with a great appearance of truth and astonishment, that he had gone a very long distance out of his way.

'How far is it?' roared the giant.

The old cobbler with great alacrity jumped off his bundle, unfastened it, and scattered at the giant's feet the shoes he was carrying home to Wellington to mend.

'It is a very long way to Shrewsbury,' said he, 'so long that I have worn out all these shoes in walking from there.'

The giant turned away in a rage, and as the weight of the loaded shovel was beginning to fatigue him, he turned it aside to let fall a little of the earth. This formed the Ercall, for the old cobbler did not forget to send him off in a wrong direction. This did not lighten his burden much, so he thought he would let fall a little more of the earth. In doing this he stumbled over the brook, which still runs between the two hills, and nearly *all* the earth fell from the shovel, and thus the Wrekin was formed.

The giant was greatly enraged to think that his strength should fail him, and that he had not been revenged. Looking at his shovel, he saw there was still a little earth in the corner of it. He angrily shook it out, and it formed 'The Little Hill.'

Being now greatly fatigued, he sat down on Charlton's Hill to rest, and looking to the distant mountains in the west, he saw Shrewsbury lying peacefully there, and that it was not very far off.

'I will rest awhile,' said he, 'and then I will on and gather up another shovelful of earth, and this time I will have my revenge on those proud Salopians, who have deprived me of my choicest food and have thus diminished my strength.'

The 'giant refreshed' rose up and refilled his huge shovel, but, alas! in his haste and on destructive thoughts too intent, he forgot that in the shades of evening, which were now falling, he must be careful in stepping over the Severn, so he stumbled, falling headlong into deep water, and was drowned, and Shrewsbury had peace.

There are traditions relating to the two projecting rocks on the south side of the Wrekin. One of them has a round cavity in its summit which is said never to have been seen without water in it, and that the ravens formerly used to drink there. It is called 'The Ravens' Cup.'

The other rock has a curious cleft in it, which is called the 'Needle's Eye.' It is said that all young people who pass through this needle's eye without stumbling ensure a happy marriage.

It is the custom for lovers to accompany their sweethearts, and in helping them to thread the needle endeavour, no

doubt, to induce the fulfilment of the augury by carefully preventing a fall. To accomplish this is a difficult task, and reminds us of the parable in Holy Writ, for the phases of matrimony are often, no doubt, more difficult than the passage through this rocky 'Needle's Eye,' and lovers who struggle through it might carry away a useful lesson if they learn to pass through those phases hand in hand, giving that mutual help and sympathy which seldom fails to ensure happiness.

Legend of the Severn.

From a legend of the Severn we learn that one of the early British kings set a bad example in divorcing his lawful wife. Thus runs the story:

Locrine, King of Britain, when he defeated the Huns, took captive a young maiden named Estrilda, and, wishing to make her his wife, he divorced Gwendolen his queen.

The guilty couple had a daughter, whom they named Sabrina. On the death of Locrine the loyal Britons recalled their banished queen Gwendolen, placed her upon the throne, and supported her government; but, with the barbarity of those days, they pursued Estrilda and Sabrina with great cruelty. In endeavouring to escape from their pursuers, Sabrina was drowned in the river, and from this event her name was given to the Severn.

The Humber is said to have taken its name from a conquered chief who was drowned in it.

Legend of Simnel Cake.

This cake, which is much sold in Shrewsbury, was originally made in a cottage near the Wrekin. The story

says that an excellent old couple named Sam and Nell quarrelled over their plum-pudding, not about its ingredients, but as to the manner in which it should be cooked.

Sam insisted that it should be boiled, and stood over the pot during the process. When he had thus cooked it he took it from the pot, believing in his masterful mind that he had won the day, and went out to take a walk. No sooner had he gone than Nell, true to her woman's natural love of having her own way, put the pudding in the oven and baked it.

Sam was very angry, but his appetite getting the better of his temper, he partook of it and pronounced it good.

The story went abroad, others tried the same plan of cooking their pudding, and found it to their taste. Hence the celebrated Shropshire Simnel Cake.

Dragons.

Dragons were very frequently sculptured in Saxon churches. They are among the symbols of those ages when, according to tradition, people superstitiously believed that these monsters existed and were a terror to man. When represented in church decorations, they were probably intended to indicate the power of the evil one. In some instances these rude sculptures are said to be memorials of great events. There was also an ancient custom of carrying a dragon in procession once every year, to celebrate the triumph of Cuthred, King of the West Saxons, over Ethelred, King of Mercia, when he took from him his standard, upon which was portrayed a golden dragon.

Lipscomb, who wrote in the early part of this century

(1803; 'British Topography and Antiquities'), says: 'In remote times there lived a great dragon with enormous wings, in a wood on the banks of the Wye, which committed great depredations, and was the terror of the country round. A man condemned to die was offered pardon if he could slay the monster. The dragon was wont to resort to a certain spot at the confluence of the Wye and the Ley to allay his thirst. Here the man awaited his terrible foe, concealed in ambush inside a barrel. He slew the dragon, but was poisoned by the venom of the monster's teeth.'

He concludes his story as follows:

'In the village church there is, at the east end, a painting of a green dragon, representing the said monster. The head is depicted of very large size, and of a terrible aspect, a red mouth with a forked tongue, his wings elevated and expanded, and it is web-footed.'

'The above story,' he adds, 'is told with great seriousness, and the figure is said to represent the exact size of the dragon, which must have been twelve feet in length.'

There are many 'Treasure Legends' with which dragons are associated. They are believed to have seized upon ancient monuments, and to have had a singular love of riches; to have watched over concealed treasure, and in some instances money secretly buried is said to have been doubled. 'The Legend of Bishop's Castle' shows that the dragon was not always vigilant.

It is said that a man who was a great miser hoarded fifty pounds. With this he wished to buy a piece of land. This sum not being sufficient for the purchase, he mentioned his difficulty to a neighbour, who persuaded him to bury his fifty pounds in a certain place, assuring him he would,

after a stated time, find it doubled, asserting that he knew this from his own experience. He followed the advice of his neighbour, and when he returned at the time designated to seek his money he found double the number of pieces, but, alas! they were only brass buttons. His money had disappeared, his neighbour also.

In this ancient legend there is a striking moral, which might, if well applied, benefit the credulous of the present day, who are often induced to invest in bubble companies, hoping to double their capital, and lose all.

Legend of St. George.

The patron saint of England is usually represented on horseback, tilting at a dragon, which is under his feet, in evidence of his faith and Christian fortitude in conquering the devil. St. George is said to have appeared to the Christian army in the Holy War, before the battle of Antioch, and to King Edward I. in his expedition against the Saracens.

He is said to have been born of Christian parents in Cappadocia. His father suffered martyrdom, and his mother and her son took refuge in Palestine. When he was twenty years old his mother died, and he inherited a large fortune. He entered the army young, and distinguished himself for great courage and endurance. He was received at the Court of Diocletian, where he hoped for advancement. At the commencement of the persecutions under this monarch he declared himself a Christian, and distributed his money among the poor.

St. George refused to sacrifice to the pagan gods, and was condemned to death. He suffered persecution and torture

for seven years without being affected by them. His constancy is said to have been the means of converting 40,900, among these the Empress Alexandra. Her conversion so exasperated Diocletian that he condemned her also to instant death. St. George was then executed. He is believed to have suffered at Nicomedia, April 23, 303.

Eusebius ('Eccles. Hist.,' Bk. VIII., c. v.), though he does not give the name, mentions a certain man of no mean origin, and highly esteemed for his temporal dignities, who, as soon as the decree was published against the churches of Nicomedia, stimulated by a divine zeal and excited by an ardent faith, took it from where it was posted up for public inspection and tore it to pieces, as a most profane and wicked act. This is generally believed to have been St. George. He was popular as a saint unquestionably from a very early age, and his fame and worship extended through Phœnicia, Palestine, and all the Eastern lands. In all Christian lands churches have been dedicated to him.

The enthusiasm of the Crusaders for the Eastern soldier-saint who had led them to battle soon raised St. George to the highest popularity among the warriors and nobles of Europe. England, Aragon and Portugal made him their patron saint. An order of knighthood under his patronage was instituted by Frederic of Austria in 1245. His banner, which was white, charged with a blood-red cross, floated in battle with that of the Empire.

In 1348 Edward III. founded St. George's Chapel, Windsor. In the following year, during the siege of Calais, moved by a sudden impulse, the King drew his sword with the exclamation:

'Ha, St. Edward [Confessor]! Ha, St. George!'

His words gave spirit to his soldiers; they fell upon the French and routed them. From that time St. George replaced St. Edward as patron saint of England.

In 1350 the celebrated order was instituted.

In 1415, by the constitution of Archbishop Chichely, St. George's Day was made a major double feast, to be observed as Christmas Day, all labour ceasing, and he received the title of 'Spiritual Patron of English Soldiery.'

In 1545 St. George's Day was observed as a red-letter day, with proper Epistle and Gospel.

Collect.—'God, who makes us glad through the merits and intercession of blessed George the martyr, mercifully grant that we who ask through him Thy good things may obtain the gift of Thy grace. Amen.'

The Epistle, 2 Tim. ii. 8, and iii. 10-13.

Gospel, St. John xv. 1-8. Introit, Psalm 63.

The service was sung from the Sarum liturgy.

In the time of Edward VI. this service was discontinued, and the holiday of the 'Chapter of the Garter' on St. George's Day was transferred to Whitsun Eve, Whit-Sunday and Whit-Monday. In the first year of Queen Mary the enactment was reversed, and since then the ancient custom has continued, and the chapter is held annually on the feast of the patron saint, April 23.

There are many versions of the Christian myth of St. George and the dragon. According to one of them, he delivers a princess from a monster about to devour her. Another tells us that the dragon guards the springs of water, and the country round is languishing for want of it. St. George slays the monster and restores the springs.

There is a curious story relating to the white horse which is cut on the side of a hill in Berkshire. It has been said to be of Saxon origin, from the Saxon standard, which had a horse. This great white horse, however, has its wrong foot foremost, and, a coin of the time of Cunobeline, who reigned in Britain A.D. 40, having a similar figure on its reverse side, it is probable the turf-cutting was of much earlier date.

The manger is called Dragon's Hill, and it has a tradition that here St. George slew the dragon.

> 'If it be true as I've heard say,
> St. George did here the dragon slay;
> And down below on yonder hill
> They buried him, as I've heard tell.'

This was probably one rendezvous of the ancient demons. One of the roads in the locality which is part of the Roman road to Bagshot is called the 'Devil's Highway.'

The ancient Britons had gold and silver coins in use long before the time of Julius Cæsar. This coinage was at its highest perfection in the time of Cunobeline, who was King of Britain at the time of our Saviour's birth. They are a very extraordinary production for this early age. The coins are of a highly-wrought character, and believed by some antiquaries to be of a Grecian type. They disappeared after the time of Claudius.

At Wood Eaton, near Oxford, British coins of the time of Cunobeline have been found. On one side is a horse, with an ear of corn above him, and Cuno under him. On the other side is an ear of corn and Camu Abru, for Camulodunum, where the coins were found.

The collection of ancient British coins at the British

Museum is extremely interesting. Many of them are in a perfect state.

These ancient stories relating to dragons, giants and monsters were extremely popular in all the heathen nations of Europe, and when transferred to a hero of the Christian faith, it is not surprising that he should be the most venerated and most popular of all the saints in the calendar. The allegory lying beneath the legend is that monster, 'The Old Serpent,' against whom every Christian soldier is called to fight manfully.

Legend of St. Michael.

St. Michael is said to have shown himself three times. First, on Mount Garganus in Aquila, in the year 391 A.D. Second, on the tomb in Cornwall, St. Michael's Mount, 710 A.D. The French claim a third appearance on their St. Michael's Mount in Normandy.

Flags and Arms.

The Royal Standard

was a flag with a coat of arms. It was originally the banner of St. George of England, white with a red cross, and was adopted as the national flag of England when St. George was chosen patron saint of England instead of Edward Confessor. The Tudors placed St. George's cross and the badge and motto at the head, but never the arms.

The union of Scotland with England was expressed by placing the red cross of St. George upon the white diagonal cross of St. Andrew. The banner of St. Andrew was blue, and it not being according to heraldry to place colour upon

colour, the cross of St. George was edged with a narrow white border or fimbriation. Thus, from 1606 the national flag was azure, a saltire argent surrounded by a cross, gules fimbriating of the second.

When Ireland was united to Great Britain, the red diagonal cross of St. Patrick was added. This was originally on a white ground. It is thus expressed in heraldic language: Azure, the saltires of St. Patrick and St. Andrew, quarterly per saltire, counterchanged, argent and gules, the latter fimbriated of the second, surmounted by the cross of St. George of the third fimbriated at the last.

The Union Jack, our National Flag,

might be described simply as a blue flag, divided into four quarters by our English right-angled red cross of St. George with a narrow edge of white. Each of these four quarters is intersected by a red diagonal bar, and by a white one, counterchanged; so that in the first and third quarter (those nearest the flagstaff) the white of Scotland, as the senior kingdom, is uppermost, and in the second and fourth (those on the outer part of the flag) the red of St. Patrick has the precedence.

The white edge or fimbriation—the narrow white edge on the cross of Ireland—is, as in the case of St. George's cross, to meet the rule of heraldry. The flag hoisted on the truck expresses joy, three feet below it indicates sorrow.

Royal Arms of Great Britain and Ireland.

Two of the lions were introduced by William the Conqueror. A third was added on the marriage of Henry II.

with Eleanor of Aquitaine. Until the sixteenth century they were called Lions-leopardi or Leopards, and represented Duchies only. Ireland's Harp was placed on the shield of England by James I.

In the reign of James II., Scotland claimed the place of honour for the lion rampant, in precedence of England, as the senior kingdom. During four centuries the kings of England bore the Fleur-de-lys, and for the same reason placed them upon the first and third quarters. In Queen Anne's time they were omitted. Supporters : lion, English ; unicorn, Scotch. The latter did not appear until the time of Mary Stuart.

Miraculous Springs.

From the earliest times miraculous springs have existed, and, as in the case of stones, it was not found expedient to abolish them ; they were therefore dedicated to patron saints, and surrounded by a wall to protect them from pollution. A great number of these wells still retain the name of the saint to which they were at this time dedicated; others are distinguished as holy wells. The latter were probably consecrated and set apart for sacred purposes without being dedicated to any particular saint. As Christianity progressed small edifices were built over them, and they were called baptisteries.

In Denbighshire, near Basingwerk Abbey, is St. Winefride's Well, a seventh-century saint. The legend says that Caradoc, a British prince, her lover, cut off her head because she rejected him. When this cruel act was committed, her

uncle, St. Benno, under whose care she had been placed, was officiating at the altar, and her head came and rolled at his feet. Through his prayers, it was reunited to her body, and where her head had lain a great spring burst forth. After her second death she was buried there; but in the reign of Stephen her body was brought by the monks of Shrewsbury and buried there at the abbey.

The spring has an extraordinary flow of water, and is still said to have miraculous powers, especially for curing cripples. Norden, in his description of Cornwall, refers to this well as follows: 'Tradition says that unto the well of St. Winefride beyound Chester, in Denbighshire, thowsands doe yearly resorte.'

The 'Life and Miracles' of this saint was published in London, 1713. In it is recorded the marvellous cure of Sir Roger Bodenham, Knight, of his leprosy through bathing in St. Winefride's Well, when all other means had failed.

There is a similar legend relating to the death of 'St. Paul alle tre fontaine' at Rome. The church which bears this name was built upon the spot where it is said the Apostle was beheaded, and where his head bounded three times three fountains sprang up.

St. Winefride's Well is leased, so it is said, by the Duke of Westminster to the Corporation of Holywell. During the last few years its miraculous powers have again become famous, and it has been visited by many thousands.

Oracular wells are still sometimes consulted by the superstitious. There was formerly a holy well near the Abbey, in Shrewsbury.

Bituminous wells are not uncommon in Shropshire. The village of Pitchford took its name from one of these wells, and formerly there was one at Coalbrookdale.

Dodsley (1760) mentions a well at Broseley which emitted a vapour which, when set on fire, became so hot that eggs and even meat could be cooked over the flames. 'The water,' he says, 'is quite cold before the vapour is set on fire, and immediately becomes cold again when the flame is extinguished.'

There are some very curious stories related about some of the ancient wells in Cornwall. At Pelynt is the well of St. Nun. A granite basin lay near to it which had been used for baptism. An old farmer saw no wrong in converting this holy font into a trough for his pigs. He took his oxen and wain for the purpose of moving it. For a long time it resisted the efforts of the oxen to move it, but at length they succeeded in starting it, and they dragged it slowly up the hill. Here it suddenly broke away from the chains that held it, and rolled back to the well, made a sharp turn, and regained its old position, where it has ever since remained. The oxen are said to have died on the spot.

Wonderful stories* are told of St. Neot's Well, which is one of the most celebrated in Cornwall, and was held in great veneration. The legend is preserved in the painted window in the parish church. There was formerly a baptistery over it, but it has been destroyed.

Near the monastery built by St. Neot was a never-failing spring, in which the saint preserved three fishes, but would not presume to touch them until it was revealed to

* Borlase, 'Antiquities.'

him why they were put there. An angel was sent to tell him that they were put there for his sustenance, provided he only took one at a time. If he observed this condition, he was assured that always on his return he would find three fishes as at first. But St. Neot had a zealous and faithful servant named Barius, who had been long attached to his service. His master being very ill, and for some days unable to take food, Barius became alarmed at this continued abstinence, and bethought himself of the fish in the well, which he might cook in different ways. Without difficulty he caught two of them. One he roasted, the other he fried. Hoping to tempt the appetite of the saint, he served them up with much satisfaction.

The good saint inquired whence they came. Barius, with honest simplicity, said he had taken them from the well and had dressed them in different ways, hoping that if one did not tempt his sickly palate the other might.

Then St. Neot, greatly alarmed, exclaimed, 'Why hast thou done this? How, in opposition to my command, hast thou presumptuously ventured to take from the well more than one fish at a time?' Telling his servant to take back the fishes instantly and put them into the well, he prostrated himself in prayer.

Barius hastened to do as he was bidden, and cast them into the water, when, to his great astonishment, they, in spite of having been cooked, disported themselves as if nothing had happened to them. Overjoyed, he returned to tell his master, who desired him to go again and catch *one* fish. This he cooked, and no sooner had St. Neot partaken of it than he was miraculously restored to perfect health.

St. Keyne.

The water of the well of St. Keyne, which is near St. Neot's, has virtue which differs from all other wells. It has been immortalized by Southey:

'A well there is in the West country,
A clearer one never was seen;
There is not a wife in the West country
But has heard of the Well of St. Keyne.

'An oak and an elm stand beside,
And behind doth an ash-tree grow,
And a willow from the bank above
Droops in the water below.

'A traveller came to the Well of St. Keyne,
Pleasant it was to his eye,
For from cockcrow he had been travelling,
And there was not a cloud in the sky.

'He drank of the water so cool and clear,
For thirsty and hot was he;
And he sat down upon the bank,
Under the willow-tree.

'There came a man from the neighb'ring town
At the well to fill his pail;
On the hillside he rested it,
And bade the stranger hail.

'"Now, art thou a bachelor, stranger?" quoth he.
"For an if thou hast a wife,
The happiest draught thou hast drunk this day
That ever thou didst in thy life.

'"Or has thy good woman, if one you have,
In Cornwall ever been?
For an if she have, I'll venture my life,
She has drunk at the Well of St. Keyne."

'"I have left a good woman who never was here,"
The stranger he made reply;
"But that my draught should be better for that,
I pray you answer me, why?"

'"St. Keyne," quoth the countryman, "many a time
Drank of this crystal well,
And before the angel summoned her,
She laid on the water a spell.

'"If the husband of this gifted well
Should drink before his wife,
A happy man thenceforth is he,
For he shall be master for life.

'"But if the wife should drink of it first,
God help the husband then!"
The stranger stooped to the well of St. Keyne
And drank of the water again.

'"*You* drank of the water, I warrant, betime,"
He to the countryman said;
But the countryman smiled as the stranger spoke,
And sheepishly shook his head.

'"I hastened as soon as the wedding was done,
And left my wife in the porch,
But, i' faith, she had been wiser than me,
For *she* took a bottle to church."'

St. Keyne, or Keyna, was daughter of Bragamo, Prince of Brecon, A.D. 490. She was held in great veneration for her sanctity and for the wonderful miracles she performed.

NOTES.

Note 1, p. 11.

MONASTERIES, ABBOTS, TITHES, VESTMENTS, CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

Monasteries.

During the ignorance and turbulence of the Dark Ages monasteries were the seats of learning, and afforded a retreat to the studious. The monastic system was no doubt in many respects pernicious, but it had many redeeming qualities, and after the Dissolution it was found that the monasteries had been the refuge of the destitute and a home for the decayed and unfortunate, which was neither uncomfortable nor humiliating. The monks have been compared to God's ravens in the wilderness, 'ministering bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening.' They cultivated the waste lands, transforming them into fertile fields, and dispensed charity among the poor. They had infirmaries, dispensaries and foundling asylums, where many orphans and outcast children were sheltered. The sick were attended with peculiar care, and in every monastery there were, besides the refectory and oriol for the infirm, the locutory or parlour, where the monks discoursed; the dormitory, a lavatory or laundry, a library, a church and a sanctorium, where criminals found refuge; a gaol for incorrigible monks, and an oratory for prayer. The following curious remarks relating to the oriol or orolium are from Brewer's Fuller:

'Why so called some of the namesake colleges in Oxford

are best able to testify. Sure I am that small excursions out of gentlemen's halls in Dorsetshire (respect it east or west) are commonly called oriol.

'The use thereof is known for monks who were in latitudine morbi—rather distempered than diseased—to dine in, it being cruelty to thrust such into the infirmary, where they might have died with the conceit of the sickness of others.'

In every monastery there was a scriptorium—a large room where the monks transcribed books on all subjects. There they remained, or in their libraries, in MS., until William Caxton (1471) brought out the art of printing. The works of classical and Christian antiquity were transcribed in the cloisters of the Benedictines, and to them we are indebted for their preservation. To the wayfaring man the vesper bell was a welcome sound, inviting him to repose and devotion. The young were instructed, and here the student found the only libraries where he could obtain knowledge. Provision was also made for the wants of society, such as public institutions now supply. And it might be remarked that, under all circumstances, great wants make themselves known, and lead to something like the same course for their relief, though it be under a different name.

Whosoever fled to a monastery and registered himself therein for sanctuary was safe, and none could touch him, even for murder. There was no stringent rule as to quantity of food, but each monk should labour according to his eating. Many of them, however, carried abstinence to extremes. The discipline was very severe. It is said that Paul XIV., Abbot of St. Alban's, made it penal for any to talk in the cloisters, church, refectory or dormitory. The monks lived in cells, and were under engagements of absolute obedience to their abbot. Under him each monastery was governed by a head of its own, and the chief abbot made circuits of visitation.

Twice a year, at Easter and in August, the whole fraternity assembled at the chief monastery. The Abbot of St. Alban's was the chief abbot, and the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, in Middlesex, was first and chief Baron of England. In the monasteries all things were in common. It was a serious breach of discipline to speak of 'my coat,'

'my book,' or even 'my pen.' The monks not only employed themselves in agriculture, but also in other kinds of industry, such as basket-making, weaving, rope-making, etc. They were not allowed to go out without permission, nor on their return to relate any adventures, lest they should distract the brethren; but as the monastery contained within its precincts the farm, the mill, the garden, and other requisites, they had little need for going out. Their meals were taken in common, each preceded by psalmody. They 'ate their own with silence' (2 Thess. iii. 1, 2), with their hoods drawn over their faces, so that they saw only the food before them. During meals a monk read aloud. The ancient pulpit, which still remains near the Abbey at Shrewsbury, stood in the refectory of the monastery. From this the monk read, in order that he should be seen and heard by all. The monks cooked in turn, a week at a time, but those engaged in the higher duties were exempt from these tasks. Their food consisted chiefly of grain cooked in various ways, and fish. The whole Psalter was recited in service every week, and portions of time were assigned for committing psalms to memory and for the study of Scripture, and other edifying books. But they had feelings common to human nature, with the passions and failings of other mortals, and when in later times they became less devoted to their useful occupations, and indolent in their devotions, they fell into vice; but notwithstanding their degeneracy, their numbers increased.

Gregory X. found it necessary to repress the number of monks, and confined the institution to the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustines. The Cistercians were remarkable for their great skill in organization. Among the lay-brethren (Fratres Conversi) every trade was skilfully practised, and each company had its foreman; but a monk was always chief director of the work. In times of need the Abbey provided sustenance for the poor. Udalric speaks of the great charities of Cluny. Provisions, he says, were given daily to the poor, and on great occasions, in memory of illustrious persons, extraordinary benefactions were bestowed. Each week the almoner washed the feet of three poor men—'in warm water in winter.' He also sought out the sick and needy, and carried them bread and

wine of the best. 'There were distributed each day twelve pasties—"tourtes," hence tarts—each of three pounds weight, to widows, orphans, the blind, lame or aged—such who might present themselves.' Udalric says that in one year (the date of his book) 250 hams had been distributed, and doles to 17,000 poor persons. The ancient custom of distributing bread at the church door after service is a survival of the charitable custom of the monks of the earlier times. Guests were received with great kindness and courtesy. When the porter heard a knocking he said, 'Deo gratias,' giving thanks to God who had sent them a guest, and on opening the door only one word, 'Benedicite,' bending his knee before him. He was received by no less a personage than the abbot himself, and no matter how grave his occupation, he was bound to come at once to receive the guest whom Heaven had sent. Conducting him to the small oratory near the gate, which was for this purpose, he, after a short prayer, confided his guest to the hospitaller, who attended to his wants, as well as to his horse if he were mounted. The guest usually ate with the abbot at a table separated from the monks. After compline (evening prayer) the feet of the guest were washed. Two brothers were appointed weekly by the chapter for this purpose.

Cistercian monasteries were generally founded in marshy valleys and on the banks of rivers or watercourses, which were utilized for flour-mills, saw-mills and manufactories. Fullers' and many other industries were also pursued by the help of water. They had large breweries and wine-presses. The great number of places in England which still retain the name of 'vineyard' had their origin, no doubt, in these early times. Vineyards were less cultivated in this country as intercourse with France became more free, and when we obtained possessions there; but the vine was cultivated in England by the wealthy until the middle of the seventeenth century. The first Bordeaux brought to England is said to have been for the marriage of Henry II. with Eleanor of Aquitaine, 1154, but there were still vineyards in sheltered places which produced good fruit, and if the wine was not of the sweetest, it was no doubt well manufactured and as palatable as our cider of the present time.

The routine of life in the Cistercian monasteries was extremely severe. The monks were awakened by a bell at two a.m., and hastened to the church. After short prayers they began matins, which took two hours. Lauds did not commence until the dawn—thus in winter there must have been an interval. They went afterwards to the cloister, and were employed in reading, writing, or meditation until nine o'clock, when they went to work in the fields, dined at two, and in the evening assembled for vespers at six or eight o'clock, according to the season; finished the day with compline, then went to their dormitory.

Such was the life in the Abbey of Citeaux, founded in 1098 by Odo, Duke of Burgundy, who was brought in his coffin from the first crusade and buried here.

A traveller named Barker wrote an interesting paper, which appeared in 1893 in *Temple Bar*, describing a night with the Trappists at Echourgnac, near Bourdelais, a community established in 1868. A genealogical tree of the order of 'Reformed Cistercians,' called Trappists, is to be seen there, showing its descent from the Abbey of Citeaux. The traveller describes the general routine as extremely ascetic and severe, the monks, whom he joined, rising a little before two at the ringing of a bell. The fathers remained in their stalls until after four o'clock mass, but the brothers went to work until six, the hour of prime.

The brewery is still an important industry there. The traveller describes the beverage given to him as 'of a yellow colour and soup-like consistency.' The Trappist brother apologized for its being 'a little thick' by saying it was 'rather new.' The writer adds that the best testimony that their labours were not wasted in this, one of the most forlorn wildernesses in all France, was that when, a few years ago, the French Government was dispersing the monastic communities, the inhabitants were so excited at the prospect of their benefactors being expelled, that a serious conflict with the gendarmes was regarded as certain if they were sent to expel the monks.

Many of the beautiful ruins we see in England are the remains of those ancient structures which were called 'Alien Priories.' These religious houses were generally

dependent upon one of the greater abbeys; there were, however, some which were independent, where the chief was called a prior or prioress. Many of the 'Alien Priories' were those which were dependent upon foreign monasteries. There were many abuses in the old monastic system, and the Norman barons, wishing to benefit the religious houses of their own country, made over to them the revenues and estates belonging to the English churches in their patronage. Monks were placed upon the property, and the profits remitted. This being a violation of the law, it came within the jurisdiction of the King, and when in the time of war between France and England indignation rose high because the revenues of the English priories were enriching the enemy, the Commons desired to confiscate the property of the English clergy, but Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, proposed that, instead of this, the 'Alien Priories' should be suppressed. Several had already been seized, and the rest were dissolved by Act of Parliament, and their revenues granted to the King, 1414. It was not considered politic to alienate the whole of these possessions from religious purposes, therefore about 1440, when people were beginning to understand the value of education, Henry VI. founded Eton College for boys and King's College at Cambridge, the Queen at the same time giving her name to Queen's College in the same university.

Archbishop Chichele, in 1437 founded a college at Oxford, to which he gave the name of All Souls', to commemorate those who had been killed in the French wars. Twenty-one years later Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, founded Magdalen College, Oxford. These foundations were supported chiefly from the suppressed monasteries within the jurisdiction of these prelates.

Early in the sixteenth century Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, wished to found a monastery, but was dissuaded from doing so by Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, on the ground that conventual establishments were no longer either good or useful, and must soon cease to exist. The two bishops founded instead Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Abbots

had high distinction and much power. When an Abbot gave a command the monk who received it knelt, and he had to say 'Benedicite' on coming into his presence and on leaving it.

Bells were rung when they passed the churches belonging to them. They rode with hawks on their fists, which was a mark of the highest distinction, and on mules with gilded bridles, saddles, and cloths of blood colour, and with great retinues.

Abbots associated with people of the highest rank, and shared their pleasures, dining with them; they were sponsors to the children of royal blood, and often educated them.

They styled themselves, 'By the grace of God,' or 'By Divine permission,' in referring to their office.

When an abbot sang vespers, the vestment and cope, water in silver basin, towels and comb, mitre, gloves, and staff were placed in the vestiary.* When he had washed his hands, combed his hair, and clothed himself with the alb, robe, mitre, gloves, ring, and crosier, his chaplains attending him, a peal of all the bells struck up, and, entering the upper choir, he went to his stall below.

The public dress of an abbot, says Fosbrooke, is known to have consisted of a dalmatic, or seamless coat of Christ, signifying holy and immaculate piety.

An abbot's mitre was like that of a bishop, but the episcopal mitre was of gold. The mitre was emblematic of Christ, the Head of the Church.

The crosier signified pastoral care. Gloves occasionally worn or cast aside typified the concealment of good works and the demonstration of them for edification. The ring, as Christ was the spouse of the Church, signified Scripture mysteries to be concealed from unbelievers and revealed to the Church. Sandals, the foot neither covered nor naked, signified that the Gospel should neither be concealed nor used upon earthly benefits.

In ancient times monks wore a peculiar dress, made chiefly of goat-skin, in imitation of Elijah, who is regarded

* Vestry and vestments. See 2 Kings x. 22.

as the pattern of monastic life, as are also Samuel and the sons of the prophets.

John the Baptist is also considered an example. Our Lord Himself, when He exhorted His disciples to leave all and follow Him, suggested the 'common life,' and after His ascension they lived in common, the only exceptions being those who married, who retained some property. Such were the monks of Egypt; St. Antony was one of them.

The mediæval friars moved from place to place, and took strict vows of poverty, living only on alms.

St. Basil wrote his monastic rules in 350.

St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, wrote rules for Canons Regular in 400.

St. Benedict in 516 formulated rules which were approved by the whole Church.

St. Bruno founded the Carthusians in 1086.

Robert, Abbot of Burgundy, instituted the Cistercian Order in 1092.

Norbert instituted the Premonstratenses in 1120.

In the same year began the Hospitallers and Templars.

St. Gilbert of Sempringham founded his order in 1148.

St. Dominic founded the Dominicans about 1198. They were licensed as itinerant preachers.

St. Francis founded the Franciscans in the early part of the thirteenth century.

The Carmelites were established by Pope Martin in 1279.

The discipline of the Carthusians was very severe; they lived in a desert called Cartusa, near Grenoble. They wore a hair shirt; never ate meat, on Fridays only bread and water; and never left their monastery. Women were not allowed to enter their monasteries nor their churches.

Norbert, founder of the Premonstratenses, who were after the order of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, was born of noble parents, and gave all he had to the poor.

St. Augustine was born in 354, at Tagaste, an episcopal city in Numidia. His father, Patricius, was a heathen, but Monica, his mother, was a devout Christian. When Augustine was seventeen his father died. He had been persuaded by the gentle Monica to become a Christian.

A rich citizen of Tagaste assisted Monica in the education of her son. He possessed talents which promised distinction, but he fell into dissolute habits. His anxious and devoted mother had a vision in which she was assured that he would one day be brought to repentance. In the hope of bringing about this change she begged an aged Bishop to converse with him, but the Bishop dismissed her with the assurance that it was impossible that the child of so many tears should perish. She treasured up these words as if uttered by a voice from heaven. The desire of her heart was fulfilled, and she died rejoicing in the conversion of her son.

The Benedictines' dress was black. They were called the Black Monks, to distinguish them from other orders who wore white. The monks of Cluny also wore black; the Cistercians and Carthusians white.

With regard to other vestments, the dress of Canons Regular was a white tunic with a linen gown under a black cloak.

St. James, first Bishop of Jerusalem, is said to have been the first who assumed this linen tunic, after the manner of the ancient Levitical priesthood.

Canons Regular of St. Sepulchre wore white under a black cloak, with a double cross upon the left arm.

In the ancient British ritual the alb, a long white garment which was the origin of the surplice, was worn by all clerks whose duty it was to administer at the altar. Sometimes it was of a coloured material and ornamented with figures. In the ecclesiastical laws of the fourth century mention is made of the appropriation of vestments to the different orders, which proves that they were not, as some imagine, an invention of a later date. A change is believed to have been made in the sixth century, when the old Grecian and Roman habits, adorned after the manner of the Jewish vestments, were introduced into the British Church.

Mention is made of red, blue, and green having been used in the seventh and eighth centuries, but it was not until the twelfth century that this became general.

Three hundred and seventy monasteries, under £200 per annum, were dissolved in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Henry VIII., and their revenues given to the King.

1,000 religious persons were put out of them. The rents from these amounted to £32,000 ; movable goods, £1,000. Four years later, 645 of the greater abbeys suffered the same fate.

On April 28, 1539, Parliament confirmed the acts of the King and the wealth, revenues, plate, lead, cattle, corn, bells, etc., were divided between those of the nobility and gentry who had been most active in the suppression and spoliation of the monasteries, the greater part of which were completely destroyed.

The King appointed Leland, his librarian, to search the monasteries and to save all books and records that were valuable, but the loss of the writings of ancient historians was great and irreparable.

Some of the monasteries contained the greatest and best libraries England ever possessed. They were treated with barbarous contempt, and destroyed without consideration. Some of the books, it is said, were used for scouring, some sold to grocers. One account says that a foreign merchant purchased two valuable libraries for 40s. and took them over sea.

Tithes.

We find from Holy Scripture that the payment of tithes for the support of religious houses and of those who ministered in them was the custom from the earliest times. We read (Gen. xiv. 20) that Abraham gave to Melchisedek tithes of all he had taken from the kings he had defeated. Moses enjoined the payment of tithes, and in imitation of the Jewish custom the giving of first-fruits or tithes was among the earliest institutions of the Christian Church.

The devotion of the early converts to the Christian faith was so great that it induced liberality, and their bounty to the priesthood must have far exceeded the 'tenth.' They even sold their possessions in order to bring gifts, which they laid at the Apostles' feet (Acts iv. 37).

The property of the heathen temples was given willingly by the newly-converted to the Christian Church.

The writings of the Fathers (Irenæus, Augustine, Chrysostom) speak of tithes, and there seems to be no doubt

that they were paid without demand until the end of the fourth century.

Irenæus says, 'Christians should pay tithes in order not to be behind the Jews in works of piety and liberality.' During the three first centuries these voluntary offerings of the early Christians were enjoyed in tranquillity, but as numbers increased greater means were required, and on this account the clergy had, no doubt, difficulties to contend with; but in these early times the purity of the Christian Church was maintained, and no improper means were resorted to for her support.

From the time of Constantine the clergy enjoyed privilege of freedom from 'sordid affairs.' Some of them had resorted to commerce in order to raise means for their work and for their own support; but now an improvement was made in their social position, and their means were increased in a manner more suitable to their holy calling.

A certain allowance of corn was given to them, and tithes were still paid voluntarily; but it is probable that irregularity in their payment led to their being enforced by law.

Constantine allowed bequests to be made to the Church, and thus a great increase of wealth was obtained. That many of these bequests were lands has never been disputed.

At this time (fourth and fifth centuries), the whole of the revenue of the Church was paid into the hands of the Bishop, to be distributed among the clergy. But, upon the further conversion of the heathen and the increase of the Church, the Bishop and Archdeacon had enough work in the performance of the duties of their holy calling, and therefore appointed officers to attend solely to monetary affairs.

These were the œconomi, or stewards of the Church, but were always chosen from the clergy. One-third of the tithes was given to the Bishop because of his great expenses in entertaining the number of both clergy and laity who flocked to the episcopal residence. Another third was distributed among the clergy, in proportion to their different circumstances and claims. The last third was given to the poor and for the repairs of the church.

From this it will be seen that the estates and revenues which belong to the Church of England have been acquired from time to time, since the first preaching of Christianity.

A permanent provision was made for the clergy by setting apart land for their use, and by tithes of general produce being also given for this purpose. When the wealthy built churches for their own and their people's use they made provision for their clergy. This custom also found its precedent among the Jews.

Vestments.

Why vestments are used is a question frequently asked. The origin of them has already been referred to. We know that under the Jewish covenant God Himself appointed such things, and our Lord, in His attendance with His disciples at the temple and synagogue, gave His sanction to them.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews illustrations are taken from the Jewish ritual.

In early Christian times there was a special vestment for Holy Communion, and it must be remembered that this was the one service our Lord Himself ordained, and was for a long time the only one among Christian people. It was the chief act of Christian worship and considered obligatory to all.

Another question is : How came the practice of wearing vestments to be discontinued, as it was in a great measure, until the present century?

It is well known that Henry VIII. died a Romanist. He only repudiated the supremacy of the Pope, as other kings of England had done before. When Edward VI. succeeded, the Government was ultra-protestant, and had put aside the first reformed Prayer-Book for a second, which abolished vestments ; this was not in general use, and did not exist more than a year.

Mary restored all as before her father's rejection of the Pope's authority. Elizabeth restored the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., but omitted the prohibition of vestments and added the Ornaments Rubric of the second year of Edward VI.

On Elizabeth's accession, ninety-eight per cent. of those of the clergy who had submitted to the Pope in Mary's time again repudiated his authority and stuck to their

livings, though in many churches the Latin Missal was still used. Many a priest celebrated with the Latin in the secret oratory of the squire's house or in his own, using the English language in his church.

The many changes which had taken place led some to believe, no doubt, naturally enough, that ere long the Pope would again be supreme. The Vicar of Bray, so celebrated in song, was one of these.

At this time the surplice came to be used instead of the more elaborate vestments. The newly-invented communion table was also now brought into use, and general neglect ensued. Another set came in, bringing the tenets of Geneva and German Protestantism, who chose to preach the glorious Gospel of Christ in a black vestment, calling the beautiful surplice 'a rag of popery.' All that occurred during the time that the 'Independents' practised their intolerable tyranny, got the upper hand, and upset both Church and State, is related in history. (See Green.)

In 1660, when Church and State were restored, about 800 (not 2,000 as has been said) who had usurped the Church livings were ejected. The rightful incumbents had been thrust out, but those only were ejected who had not been ordained, who objected to be, or who would not accept the present Prayer-Book.

In 1662 the previous 'Ornaments Rubric' was revised, and remains unchanged. An endeavour was then made to restore the white vestments (the surplice), but until quite recently the custom did not become general. In the said revision there was to be no prohibition of vestments in the future.

As lights are symbols of faith and joy, so are white garments of purity.

Church Government (to Henry I.).

With regard to the government of the early Church, the Apostles were the sole depositories of their Lord's commission, with all the powers which it conferred. It has been frequently said that the Apostles were chosen from the lower classes, and that they were uneducated men. But we must remember that the qualifications which they derived

from the example and teaching of our Lord raised them above all other ministers of the Gospel, and they were certainly not of the 'lower classes.'

St. Barnabas was a landed proprietor in Cyprus; St. Mark, who was his nephew, was probably of the same rank. SS. Peter and Andrew owned fishing smacks, as they would be called in these days; the former was in partnership with Zebedee, who is supposed to have been a considerable capitalist. SS. James and John were of the same calling. Fishing in those days was a great trade, fish being a much more general article of food than in later times, and the possession of boats implied capital. St. Paul was a theological scholar of much repute. He had studied under Gamaliel, one of the most learned men of his time. St. Luke was a physician. St. Matthew was a tradesman, what would now be called a commercial man.

The Apostles, following the instructions of their Master, transmitted to others those powers which were necessary for the continuance and welfare of the Church. They appointed deacons whose duties were to discharge the smaller administrations and the lower spiritual functions. They appointed presbyters and bishops, and conferred the power of ordination.

About A.D. 66 St. Paul came a second time to Rome, accompanied by St. Luke. They were joined there by St. Peter, and are believed to have been the joint founders of the Church of Rome, and appointed Linus (mentioned 2 Tim. iv. 21) as first Bishop. It is believed that they also appointed Anacletus to be the successor of Linus, and had even fixed upon Clement to succeed Anacletus should he survive him. Clement was a companion of the Apostles. His epistle to the Church of Corinth is extant.

Deaconesses were also appointed in the Apostolic times. They assisted at the baptism of adult converts, and in other offices where deacons were unsuitable, and did much for the advancement of the faith.

As Christianity progressed there was an increase in splendour in all that concerned the worship of God. The faithful honoured God by building churches at greater cost, and the clergy by wearing more gorgeous vestments.

Music in the churches became more elaborate, and new

ceremonies were introduced. The Holy Eucharist was administered daily, the bread being of the ordinary kind, the wine mixed with water, in compliance with the custom of the East, but without any mystical meaning. The first day of the week was everywhere observed with the greatest reverence. Fasting was forbidden on Sunday, and it was kept as a day of holy joy and thanksgiving. An offertory was made for the expenses of the church.

In these early times it was the custom to have memorial services for departed friends on the anniversary of their death. Relatives and friends met at the grave. An oblation was laid upon the altar for the deceased with those of the living. The Eucharist was celebrated, and the name of the departed mentioned in prayer, with a commendation to eternal peace.

There was strict discipline in the early Church; persons guilty of grievous sins and errors were excluded from the Holy Eucharist, and re-admission could only be obtained by penitence. In some cases the whole life was made a period of penance.

Thus, during the first three centuries, the early Church was developed, each Church under its own Bishop. They were neither controlled nor welded together by any authority beyond the obligation involved in the confession of 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism.' The three principal sees were Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, each founded by the Apostles. Rome at this time had no autocratic power.

The exact time when Christianity was first brought to Britain is not known, but it is generally believed that the Gospel was preached here during the times of the Apostles. Some believe that St. Paul came to Britain during the four years of his missionary labours (after his imprisonment) which are not accounted for in the Acts of the Apostles. It is also said that Simon Zelotes was crucified and buried in Britain.

At Jerusalem, on the day of Pentecost, there were present 'devout men of every nation.' 'Strangers of Rome' are specially mentioned (Acts ii. 10). In this manner Christianity was brought direct to Rome, and would most surely be brought into Britain. The constant communication between Rome and her newly-founded colony made this

inevitable. It is possible that some of the earliest missionaries were among the soldiers of the Roman legions. By some our Church has been connected with Aristobulus, whose household is saluted by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 10). Linus, St. Peter's successor, and Claudia (2 Tim. iv. 21) are believed to have been Britons.

'Ruins of ancient chapels are found in all parts of Cornwall, and the great number of them proves that the population must have been large, and that the Christian religion must have taken deep root at a very early period in every part of the country.'—BLIGHT.

Bede mentions a British chieftain who, at the end of the second century, asked permission of Eleutherius (177-181), Bishop of Rome, to be admitted within the pale of Christianity. This, however, is believed to have been an error, as a letter among the laws of Edward the Confessor, supposed to have been written by Eleutherius to Lucius, implies that the Britons had long been Christians, and that the request to the Bishop was for instruction in Roman jurisprudence; but he might also have asked for instruction on Church matters.

It is said that Lucius lived near Llandaff, and that his messengers to Eleutherius were Elvan, Fagan, Medwin, and Damian. These several ambassadors being sent to Rome would imply that more than one subject was to be discussed.

Tertullian, born A.D. 160, and Justin Martyr testify to the prevalence of Christianity in every country known to the Romans. In the time of Eusebius the conversion of Britain in the apostolic age was an accepted fact. Three British bishops, Eborus of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius of Lincoln, attended the Council of Arles, A.D. 314.

The Christians were protected under Constantius Chlorus, whose wife was the pious Helena (said to have been a British princess), and under his son, Constantine the Great, born A.D. 272, died A.D. 337. He was a Christian probably through the influence of his mother; but it is said that his special conversion was owing to his having seen a luminous cross in the heavens at noonday, when he was marching with his army in Italy.* The cross bore this inscription: 'In hoc signo vinces.'† A few days later he conquered the

* See 'Crosses,' Chapter XVI.

† 'In this sign thou shalt conquer.'

army of Maxentius. He caused a standard to be made bearing a cross, as he had seen it in the heavens, called the Labarum. The device is found upon ancient coins of this time.

When it became necessary for the Romans to defend Italy against the invasions of the Goths, A.D. 411, they withdrew from Britain, taking with them their brave and well-trained legions, and the colony was left unprotected and undefended, and though the natives, now Roman-Britons, fought bravely in defence of their country and their religion, the centuries which followed were a perpetual scene of bloodshed and devastation.

About 570 Ethelbert, King of Kent had married a Christian princess named Ethelberga, daughter of Charibert, King of Paris, and the saintly Queen Ingoberga. The conditions of the marriage were, that she should be free to exercise her own religion. She brought with her to England a priest named Luidhard, and it is probable that he and Queen Ethelberga had intimated to Gregory, Pope of Rome, that his missionaries would be received.

Augustine and his monks landed on the Isle of Thanet, and proceeding to Canterbury, entered the town carrying a cross and other tokens of their faith.

Outside the town there then still stood a church* of the Roman time. Here Luidhard, Queen Ethelberga's chaplain, had held his services, and here Augustine and his brethren were permitted to worship, and by their devout lives and good example, as well as their preaching, they soon made many converts. They gained an influence over King Ethelbert, and at Whitsuntide, A.D. 597, he was baptized.

Augustine was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury at Arles, and from there he sent messengers to Rome to inform Gregory of his success in England. But to assert that the first missionaries to Britain were sent by Gregory is contrary to historical facts.

It has already been said above that three British bishops attended the Council of Arles, A.D. 314, which was sum-

* The present church of St. Martin's stands on the ancient site, and there are still many traces of Roman masonry.

moned by Constantine, and was the largest assembly which had been known.

It is evident that at this time the British Church was in a flourishing condition, for the bishops possessed ample means for their journey and expenses whilst there, declining hospitality from foreign bishops, lest they should be in danger of their influence.

The fact asserted by Tertullian in the second century, that 'there were places in Britain inaccessible to the Romans, but yet subdued to Christ,' may also be applied to this epoch, for there were still Britons who had kept the faith whole and undefiled. The history of the Church of England, as has been said by one who has written ably on the subject,* abounds in touching incidents of enterprise, adventure, labour, toil, privation, patient suffering, calm endurance and triumphant martyrdom, that will never be known except to Him 'to whom all hearts are open, and from whom no secrets are hid.'

It is said that it was the re-awakening of this faith by the missionaries Columba and St. Patrick that caused Gregory to send Augustine from Rome to preach the Gospel after that faith.

In A.D. 601, Gregory sent other auxiliaries to England. Mellitus and Justin were succeeding Archbishops of Canterbury, and Paulinus went to Northumbria with Ethelberga when she became the wife of King Edwin.†

The bishops of the ancient British Church had lost that power of organization which was the strength of the Roman Church, and in their difficult and laborious task of converting the heathen Saxons and the British who had fallen into idolatry they would, no doubt, have welcomed the assistance of Augustine and his followers; but doubts had arisen in their minds with regard to the mission, and they were not disposed to acknowledge the jurisdiction which Gregory had conferred upon his emissary.

Through the influence of King Ethelbert, Augustine, A.D. 603, obtained a conference with the British bishops at a place on the Severn called 'Aust's Point,' or 'Augustine's Oak.' He is said to have met them at Hartlebury, near the spot where the episcopal residence of the bishops

* 'Englishman's Brief.' † See Note 3, 'Penda.'

of Worcester now stands. When they consented to meet him they declared that if, when they came into his presence, he did not receive them courteously, and as brethren, they should not believe him to be a true Christian.

Augustine did not rise from his seat when he received them, and his want of courtesy caused them to distrust him, and the unity of the two churches was prevented.

It was at this time that the wide-spreading oaks were places of meeting for the discussion of ecclesiastical subjects, as well as for worship. Hence Bishop's Oak, Gospel Oak, Christ's Oak, as at Cressage.

In the long warfare with the Saxons, which endured nearly two centuries, Christianity had been driven with the vanquished Britons to their mountain fastnesses and retreats. Their churches had been destroyed, and they had lost the power of organizing and maintaining ecclesiastical establishments.

It must be remembered that the errors of later times had not then entered into the ancient Church of Rome. Pope Gregory knew not the doctrine of Infallibility; Purgatory was not then a doctrine. Saints' days were kept and honoured, but Jesus Christ was believed to be the 'One Mediator' between God and sinful man.

The one chief subject of dispute between the bishops of the ancient British Church and the Roman priesthood was concerning the time for observing Easter.*

The Eastern Church had held the Paschal Feast† after the manner of the Jews, on the fourteenth of the month Nisan, viz.: His death on that day, His resurrection three days after Easter-day. For this custom the Asiatics (Greek Church) said they had the authority of St. John. These were called Quartodecimani. The British Church said they derived their practice from St. John, but they were not called Quartodecimani, as they celebrated the festival on a Sunday.

After the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, the Western Church celebrated the festival of Easter on the Sunday

* From *Oester*, a Saxon goddess. April was called Aostre month; retained by the Saxons after their conversion to Christianity.

† From *paschal*, 'He passed over': 'And when I see the blood I will pass over' (Exod. xii. 13).

which follows the first full moon after the Vernal Equinox (March 21).

Among the early Christians in the Western Church, Rome, our Lord's birth was celebrated on December 25; in the Eastern Church, on January 6, in memory of the Epiphany, at which was understood the manifestation of the Messiah.

Easter and Whitsuntide were held in great veneration; not only those days but the whole time between them was observed. Fasts were suspended, and public worship performed as on Sundays, the people praising with joy and thanksgiving. At these seasons only public baptism was administered. The newly baptized came to church in white garments with torches; the former emblematic of purity, the latter of the fire which descended at this time upon the disciples.

From the earliest times it was the custom, on the anniversary of our Lord's death, to make a solemn profession of faith. The Apostles' Creed, which embodied the essential points of belief, was universally taught, and until a later period was considered sufficient. When, afterwards, further explanations seemed to be required, they were set forth and embodied in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. Controversies on this subject continued between the British bishops and Gregory's emissaries.

The transition of Church history from the early to the mediæval period was at the end of the sixth century, and Pope Gregory was the most eminent representative of this time. He endeavoured to root out paganism from all parts of Italy and other countries, and zealously endeavoured to extend the knowledge of the Gospel. The most memorable of his attempts for this good purpose had our island for its scene.

It had been the custom for other bishops in their disputes and differences to look towards Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria for counsel. Strong in numbers and in wealth, Rome maintained a higher degree of state than other Churches, and sent large sums to the less opulent brethren in all quarters. For a time it was said that the prerogatives of Rome had been bestowed upon it by the fathers out of reverence for the chief of the Apostles;

afterwards it was asserted that they were inherent in the See.

Pope Innocent, in the early part of the fifth century, exceeded his predecessors, and a little later (440-461), Pope Leo, who had genius, learning, and political skill, was the chief promoter of the Roman power.

Pope Gregory was a native of Rome, and of good family, born about the middle of the sixth century. At the age of thirty-five he gave up all worldly pursuits and distinctions, giving all his wealth to the Church. He built six monasteries in the Island of Sicily, and one, which he dedicated to St. Andrew, near his family mansion in Rome, on the Cælian Hill. Here he entered upon a strictly ascetic life, was ordained deacon in 577, and chosen Pope in 590. He lived a simple and monastic life. He reorganized the Church and improved the liturgy. He also endeavoured to improve the education of the clergy. He gave to the Canon of the Mass the form which in all essentials it still retains. He instituted a school for singing, and established the manner of chanting which still bears his name. He superintended the exercises of the choristers, and the whip with which he was accustomed to *threaten* admonition was preserved for many centuries as a relic.

The wealth of the See enabled him to exercise extensive charities. He sent alms every day to the poor, and food from his own table to the needy.

Strangers and wanderers were his guests, and he is said to have had visions, in which he was told that among those who had shared his hospitality he had 'entertained angels unawares.'

He was strongly opposed to the title of 'Ecumenical Bishop,' which he said meant 'sole bishop,' and therefore if he should err the whole Church would suffer. He spoke of the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch as his equals, being alike successors of St. Peter. It has been said that in the days of his monastic life he had himself desired to undertake a mission to Britain, but the people of Rome, who were much attached to him, strongly opposed his wish, and he was obliged to abandon the idea; but when he became Pope he committed the mission to Augustine, in whom he had great confidence.

Bede says of Gregory that he was 'a man renowned for learning and behaviour.' He also tells us that Augustine and the monks whom Gregory appointed to accompany him to Britain, 'when on their journey were seized with a sudden fear,' and did not wish 'to proceed to a barbarous, fierce and unbelieving nation, to whose very language they were strangers.'

They sent back Augustine, 'that he might by humble entreaty obtain of the holy Gregory that they should not be compelled to undertake so dangerous, toilsome, and uncertain a journey. Gregory, in reply, sent them a hortatory letter, the purport of which is given to us by Bede, as follows :

'Gregory, the servant of the servants of God, to the servants of our Lord.

'Forasmuch as it had been better not to begin a good work, than to think of desisting from that which has been begun, it behoves you, my beloved sons, to fulfil the good work which, by the help of our Lord, you have undertaken. Let not, therefore, the toil of the journey nor the tongues of evil-speaking men deter you ; but with all possible earnestness and zeal perform that which, by God's direction, you have undertaken ; being assured that much labour is followed by an eternal reward.'

He urged them to follow the directions of Augustine, 'and to humbly obey him in all things.' In conclusion he says, 'Almighty God protect you with His grace, and grant that I may, in the heavenly country, see the fruits of your labour. Inasmuch as, though I cannot labour with you, I shall partake in the joy of the reward, because I am *willing* to labour. God keep you in safety, my beloved sons.'

Gregory also sent a letter to the Bishop of Arles, the chief See in France, exhorting him to give favourable entertainment to the missionaries on their way to Britain. He addresses him as his 'most reverend brother.'

He sought to conciliate Ethelbert, King of Kent, by sending him 'many presents of several sorts,' and a letter, which he commences by saying :

'Almighty God advances all good men to the government of nations, that He may by their means bestow the gifts of His mercy on those over whom they are placed.'

After conjuring him to promote the Christian faith and suppress the worship of idols, to overthrow the structures of the temples, to edify the manners of his subjects by much cleanness of life, exhorting, terrifying, soothing, correcting, and giving examples of good works, he goes on to say:

'For even so Constantine, our most pious Emperor, recovering the Roman commonwealth from the perverse worship of idols, subjected the same with himself to our Almighty God and Lord Jesus Christ, and was himself, with his people under his subjection, entirely converted to Him; whence it followed that his praises transcended the fame of former princes.

'Now, therefore, let your glory hasten to impress into the kings and people that are subject to you the knowledge of one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; that you may both surpass the ancient kings of your nation in praise and merit, and become by so much the more secure against your own sins before the dreadful judgment of Almighty God, as you shall wipe away the sins of others in your subjects,' etc.

The heathen temples were not destroyed, but were, as in the earlier times, converted into temples where the true God was worshipped, after having been purified and consecrated to His service.

Augustine was opposed to the doctrine of purgatory, which had been deduced from St. Paul's words, 'The fire shall try every man's work,' and 'Some shall be saved as by fire.' He maintained that the probation of which the Apostle spoke consisted chiefly in the trials which are sent to us in this life.

He did not believe that all who died in the orthodox faith, however faulty their lives had been, would be saved by purgatory. He stated, however, carefully, as a conjecture, that he thought that for those who had been servants of Christ in the main there might be a purging of their remaining imperfections.

Augustine had a celebrated controversy with the Patriarch Eutychius, who, like Origen, maintained that the spiritual

body of the saints after the Resurrection would be impalpable, and more subtle than air. Augustine, according to the teaching of the Western Church, and the authority of Augustine of Hippo, believed that if the body was impalpable its identity would be lost.

'It will,' he said, 'be palpable in the reality of its nature, but subtle by the effect of spiritual grace.'

Eutychius on his deathbed confessed himself a convert, and, laying hold of his own attenuated arm, said, 'I confess that this flesh shall rise again' (Robertson).

The bishops of the British Church, which had been founded in the Apostles' time, rejected the authority and interference of the Popes in the government of their ancient Church, and this independence was referred to by William the Conqueror as a precedent when he also rejected the Papal authority.

The Norman hero, son of Robert the Devil, was left an orphan at the age of seven, and had grown up, amidst the savage treachery, dangers, and disaster of the time, into the greatest man in Western Europe. He was the real active head of the Church as he was of the State. He put down one and set up another when and where it pleased him to do so, and he appointed bishops without consulting any will but his own. The custom of the time gave him this great power in the government of the Church. He was, at the same time, respectful and even cordial with the Holy See, and considered it prudent to connect the Norman Church with it. He had also sought and received the benediction of the Pope on the great enterprise of his life, the conquest of England, but he had not thought of absolute obedience to the Papal authority. Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, was his adviser, minister, and faithful friend, but the supreme direction, the ultimate sanction, William in all things reserved for himself. He wrote to the Pope on one occasion as follows:

'Herbert, your Legate, coming to me, admonisheth me, religious Father, that I should do fealty to you and your successors, and that touching the money which my predecessors were accustomed to send to the Roman Church, I should take better order. The one claim I have admitted. Fealty I have never been willing to do, nor will I do it now,

for I never promised it, and I find not that my predecessors did it to yours.'

Lanfranc at first joined the ecclesiastical opposition to William's marriage with Matilda. At this time Lanfranc was Prior of Bec, and when William heard this he ordered that he should be banished from Normandy, and, not satisfied with this, he ordered that the house should be punished by the burning of the farmstead and the abbey.

This savage order was obeyed, and the Prior was leaving his country on a lame horse when he met Duke William, and, venturing to address him, he said, pointing to the poor animal, 'In order to obey your command I have to go, as if on foot, with this useless beast; pray give me a better horse.'

William was pleased with the joke, and, not wishing to lose such an ally, a complete reconciliation took place, and a closer friendship followed.

The dispute about the marriage was on a matter of Church law, which William had broken, but which, according to the doctrine of the time, the Pope could dispense with and condone. Lanfranc did not agree with his breaking the law at his pleasure, but did his best to repair that which could not be undone, and endeavoured to make peace by going to Rome to plead William's cause with Pope Nicholas II., and he prevailed.

The foundation of two great monastic houses at Caen, St. Stephen's by William, and the Holy Trinity for women by Matilda, were the satisfaction for their great offence, and the monuments of the great compromise. It has been said that William the Conqueror loved and honoured his wife Matilda, as few did in that licentious age.

About this time Hugh Lupus (the Wolf), Earl of Chester, who was one of the Conqueror's march lords, founded a religious house at St. Werberg's, Chester. Ordericus portrays this Norman baron in his usual quaint and vigorous style:

'A violent, loose-living, generous barbarian, honouring self-control and a religious life in others, though he had little of it himself, living for eating and drinking, for wild and wasteful hunting, by which he damaged his own and his neighbours' lands, for murderous war against the troublesome

Welsh ; for free indulgence, without much reverence for right and wrong ; very open-handed; so fat he could hardly stand, very fond of the noise and riotous company of a great following of retainers, old and young, yet keeping about him a simple-minded religious chaplain, whom he brought with him from Avranches, and who did his best, undiscouraged though the odds were against him, to awaken a sense of right in his wild flock, and to prove that soldiers might serve God.'

The friendship between Anselm and Hugh was of long date, and he came to England at his pressing invitation when the latter was very ill. The chief men of England (says Eadmer) had also chosen him as the 'comforter and physician' of their souls, and pressed his coming over.

The community of Bec, which had property in England, commanded their abbot to stay there until he had put their affairs in order. On his way to Chester he was received with honour at court by the King, 1092.

Anselm is said to have spoken plainly to William Rufus concerning the complaints of his subjects about his government. He remained nearly five months in England ; Hugh recovered, the Chester monastery was organized, and the Bec estates set in order. Little had been said about the archbishopric, but the King forbade his leaving England. He is said to have been reluctant to fill the See, which had for some time been vacant.

At Christmas, 1092, William Rufus held court at Gloucester, and the bishops and barons, who were distressed at the vacancy, made a request to him to allow that prayers should be offered up in all churches of the realm, that God would put it into the King's heart to raise up the widowed See from its scandalous and unprecedented desolation. Rufus, having appropriated the revenues of the See for his own use, was indignant when this proposal was made, but assented, saying that 'the Church might ask what it liked, but he should give up what he chose.'

This was considered consent sufficient, and Anselm was desired to draw up the form. Being then only the Abbot of Bec he objected, saying it was the office of a bishop to do it. The prayers were ordered, and Anselm was proposed

to the King as a man who 'loved God only, was plain in all his ways, and desired nothing transitory.'

'Not even the archbishopric?' replied the King. 'If he thought he had the least chance of it would he not dance and clap his hands as he rushed to embrace it? But, by the holy face of St. Lucca' (his favourite oath), 'neither he nor anyone else, at this time, shall be archbishop except myself.'

A short time afterwards Rufus was dangerously ill at Gloucester, and in the hour of affliction, helplessness, and danger, all his rapacity and injustice, the churches he had plundered and left without pastors, his profligacy and his pitiless selfishness, rose up before him. At such times sick men sent sometimes across the sea for some holy man whose goodness they trusted, to aid and comfort them in their terror and ignorance.

Anselm, though not aware of the King's illness, was near Gloucester, and was summoned in haste to what was believed to be his deathbed. The King asked him, says Eadmer, the 'most wholesome advice for the dying soul.'

'Begin to the Lord with confession,' replied Anselm, 'of all that he knows he has done against God, and should promise, without pretence, to amend all if he recovers.' The King agreed to all, and promised to do all that Anselm's judgment required, and all his life long to keep most fully justice and mercifulness. He pledged to this his faith, and sent persons to promise this on the altar in his stead.

The matter of the archbishopric was also settled, and Anselm, willingly or unwillingly, was compelled to take upon him the perilous load, and in reply to those who spoke unfavourably of his motives, he called God to witness that he was not attracted by corrupt ambition.

Being attacked by his fellow-countrymen in Normandy, he pleaded the long vacancy of the See and the mischief it had done as a principal motive: 'If you had the feelings of men,' he says, 'you would detest its prolongation.'

The King meanwhile recovered, and with health came regrets for the promises he had made on his sick-bed, which reminds us of the old couplet:

> 'The devil was ill—the devil a saint would be;
> The devil got well—the devil a saint was he.'

The King wished to withdraw from the See of Canterbury some lands which had been given to it since the death of Lanfranc. This Anselm would not agree to.

At this time there was a dispute between two Popes. The rivals for the chair of St. Peter were Urban and Clement. France had acknowledged Urban, England neither. When Anselm asked permission of William Rufus to go to Rome for his pallium, the King asked him, 'From which Pope?'

'From Pope Urban,' replied Anselm.

'Urban I have not acknowledged,' said the King. 'By my customs, by the customs of my father, no man may acknowledge a Pope in England without my leave. To challenge my power in this is as much as to deprive me of my crown.'

The bishops took the side of the King, and though they respected Anselm, they did not wish to give up the independence of the ancient Church, and strongly advised him to submit, without conditions, to the King's will.

During the vacancy of the See of Canterbury, after the death of Lanfranc, Ranulph or Ralph, named Flambard or 'The Firebrand,' had been the counsellor of William Rufus. Men of his class merged their ecclesiastical functions in secular business, and became the tools of power.

They were not like the statesmen-ecclesiastics of a later age, who were statesmen because to a great Churchman *all* human interests were believed to belong, and in occupying himself with them he was not supposed to be going out of his high sphere.

These clerics, who, though generally in orders, were not all priests, did all the writing, law business, estate agency, etc., and the keeping of public accounts was chiefly in their hands. Many of them were clever men of business, with calculating heads and quick pens. They undertook such work as is now done in Government offices.

It was Ranulph who devised the financial invention by which Rufus kept great Church offices vacant, that he might appropriate their revenues. After the death of Lanfranc the See of Canterbury was vacant for more than three years, and the King took possession of the revenues.

Eventually William Rufus made Ranulf Bishop of Durham. His brother Henry, when he succeeded him on the throne,

imprisoned him in the Tower. He escaped by making the guards drunk. 'The fat prelate,' it is said, 'slid down a rope, which scraped off the skin from his hands, and was not long enough to reach the ground, so that he finished with a heavy tumble at the end.'

He escaped to Normandy, and obtained the bishopric for his brother Fulcher, and at his death held it three years for his own son. There being an outcry against this arrangement, he procured it for one of his friends. Finally, making his humble submission to Henry, he recovered the bishopric for himself, and left the name of a great prelate and a magnificent builder. It is said that he died a penitent and in peace.

In spite of his lawless proceedings with regard to the Church, William Rufus appears, in some measure, to have shared in the general respect for the religious character of Anselm. When on one occasion he asked permission to go to Rome, the King refused, saying Anselm could have no sins needing such an absolution, and as to counsel, he was more fit to give it to the Apostolicus, the Apostles' Vicar, than the Apostolicus to give it to him. He, however, gained an unwilling consent, and set off to Rome. *Thus did Anselm begin that system of appeals to Rome, and of inviting foreign interference in the government of our Church, which in time grew to such a mischievous and scandalous height.*

The instincts of the lawless King and his prelates, who were jealous of a rival to the crown in England, were right. Time has shown that supreme and irresponsible authority has no protection against abuses, and that the power imagined and created by Hildebrand to keep the great ones of the earth in order, and to maintain the right of the helpless against the mighty, soon became, in the hands of men, as lawless, as unscrupulous, and as selfish as the worst of those tyrannies which it proposed to encounter with the authority of Christ.

The See of St. Peter at this time was, however, the acknowledged constitutional centre of spiritual law, in the West, to all who were united in the confession of the name of Christ. It was the guide and regulator of teaching: a judgment-seat open to all, which gave sentence to wrong and vice without respect of persons, not afraid of the face of

man, but spoke the truth to ambitious and cruel sovereigns and adulterous kings and queens.

At this time none doubted the authority of the great office believed to have been held in succession from the time of the Apostles. They might question the claims of rival popes or the wisdom of their decisions, disobey their orders, defy excommunication, bribe the Pope's advisers, or imprison his person; but the general belief in his authority was no more impaired than resistance and disobedience affects the general conviction of the authority of kings.

Anselm had witnessed the evils of feudal royalty, by which men were subjected to oaths of fealty which bound them to unconditional and uncomplaining submission. He, the chief witness in England for religion and holiness, saw around him vice rampant, men spoiled of that which was their own, justice, decency, and honour trampled upon, and he considered it his bounden duty to resist this misrule and injustice; to oppose the will of a selfish and cruel King and the devices of his cunning and greedy counsellor.

Such an act would, in these days, appear like an appeal to a foreign power against the king, constitution, and the independent rights of the nation. At this time it was a practical appeal from arbitrary rule to law, for in those days there was a real and living law in Christendom, and it had very powerful sanctions. It is true that it was of a questionable growth, but quite unsuspected, and in character far more complete, rational, and imposing than any other code of this time.

Anselm was a man of wide and lofty views, considerate for the feelings of others, and ever ready to allow for their faults. It does not appear that, personally, he felt very strongly on the matter of dispute about investiture, it being with him only a question of obeying that which in his age represented the law of God against the will and power of man.

With regard to usages he had no strong feeling; his mind was superior to laying any great stress upon a matter of this kind. The remark said to have been made by Rufus when he heard of the death of Pope Urban, 1099, is characteristic:

'May God's hatred rest on him who cares for it!' said the King. 'And what sort of person is his successor?'

'A man in some respects like Anselm.'

'By God's countenance, then, he is no good! But he may keep to himself, for his Popeship shall not this time get over me. I will see my freedom now.'

It is quaintly remarked by Eadmer that everything appeared to prosper with the King; even the winds, if he wanted to cross to Normandy, served his wishes. 'It seemed as if God would try how far he might be touched by having all things to his mind.'

William Rufus built no churches, but he completed Westminster Hall, that memorial of him which has now passed away, but which has been said to have 'witnessed more scenes of justice and injustice than any other place in the land.'

Henry I. married Edith, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and Margaret, one of the last of the old line of English kings, the Athelings. Anselm had promoted this marriage, which he considered an honourable one, and he boldly cast aside the objections of the prejudiced.

Edith had been left an orphan by the death of her father, through Norman treachery, and of her mother within a week afterwards from a broken heart (1093) and was sent to England to be under the care of her aunt, Christina, Abbess of Romsey. She was very beautiful, and had profited by all the cultivation, both moral and intellectual, which Margaret was so well qualified to give her, and whose talents she had inherited.

To protect her from her numerous suitors, her aunt permitted her to wear a nun's dress, and it was supposed she had taken vows. There had been a previous attachment between Henry and the Princess Edith, and as soon as he became King his thoughts turned to her, and the English people desired the marriage.

Henry had been living with a Welsh lady, after the fashion of the house of Rollo, and she had borne him several children. She was dismissed, and became the wife of Gerald of Windsor, whose lands were in Pembrokeshire.

A great difficulty arose from the general belief that Edith had taken vows. She denied it, and accounted for the causes which had induced her to wear the nun's dress, and

for encouraging the belief that she had taken the veil. She had worn the dress as a protection. Her aunt had really wished her to become a nun, but Edith had resisted, having, no doubt, given her heart to Henry. It is said that, in spite of hard words, and even blows, she would tear off the dress and trample it under her feet. She appealed to Anselm as the highest Church authority, and offered to submit to the judgment of the whole Church of England. Anselm ordered an impartial investigation. An assembly of great persons, religious and secular, was held at Lambeth, then a manor of Rochester. The matter was left to the justice of the jury, and their verdict was for her.

Edith offered to undergo the further proofs of ordeals which were used at that time. Anselm, however, declared the result of the inquiry, and, according to the ancient custom still in use, called upon any who had doubts or who considered, according to Christian law, that the marriage was unlawful, to stand forth and declare it. A shout of assent was the reply, and in the presence of a great assembly of the nobility, with the 'lesser people' crowding the doors and surging around the church, was witnessed, October 11, 1100, the marriage and benediction of the new Queen, who became dear to the English as the 'Good Queen Maude,' for her Saxon name was changed to Matilda, a Norman one.

At this time disputes arose on ecclesiastical matters between Henry and the Pope, and the King wished Anselm to comply with his wish to retain the power of making bishops and abbots by the delivery of the pastoral staff; but Anselm threw himself upon the decrees of the Roman council, at which he had been present. 'What is that to me?' said the King. 'I will not lose the customs of my predecessors, nor suffer in my realm a man who is not mine.'

The bishops and nobles at this time took part entirely with the King, and went to and fro between him and the Archbishop, all striving to comply with the King's will, and earnestly insisting that he should not be subjected to obey the Roman Pontiff. But Anselm eventually gained the victory. It was, however, the victory of a cause which has never been popular in England. It renewed the connection with Rome, but it did not recommend itself to the sympathy of Englishmen any more than it does now.

'In the character of Anselm was combined the greatest human tenderness with unpretending courage, childlike meekness, the deepest reverence, sympathy, and love, and an unflinching sense of duty. He had singular gifts of intellect, such as made him distinguished in having no living equal in Christendom.'

Henry I., with all his faults, was the shrewdest of William's sons. He knew and appreciated Anselm, and no honour, no confidence, was too great for him (Dean Church).

Anselm was born at Aosta about 1033; died April 21, 1109, and buried at Canterbury Cathedral under the south-east tower, which bears his name.

Note 2, p. 28.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

'The foremost man in all the world,
Hero of the Roman wall.'

SHAKESPEARE.

No man in ancient or modern times has combined a greater diversity of gifts of the highest order. As a general, a statesman, and as a military historian, Julius Cæsar has no superior; as an orator, he was inferior to Cicero only. In poetry, in philosophy, mathematics, he had no superior in his own time.

Lucius, who made historical characters a particular study, says: 'Julius Cæsar was by far the greatest man of all antiquity, if not of all time.'

Dr. Middleton says ('Life of Cicero,' vol. ii.): 'Cæsar was endowed with every great and noble quality that could exalt human nature and give man the ascendant in society. Provident in council, fearless in action, he excelled in peace and war: he executed what he resolved with amazing celerity. Generous beyond measure to his friends, peaceable to his enemies: in learning and eloquence, scarcely inferior to any.'

He was a most liberal patron of learning, wherever found. His failings were ambition and a love of pleasure; toil and dangers were, however, pleasures to him, when they were the means of administering to his glory. The great purpose of his life was to reign. He disdained the condition of a subject, and from his earliest youth had formed a scheme by means of which his ruling passion should be gratified; but his prudence failed him when raised to power. To support his dignity as a monarch, he violated the rights of

justice and became rapacious, plundering friends and foes. By too much ostentation he destroyed the dignity of his throne, and brought his reign to a violent end.

After the conquest of Britain by the Romans, there was a long continuance of peace and prosperity. British natives occupied Cambria, that part of England now called the Lake District, and here, as well as in the west, the ancient language was retained. In course of time, towns were linked together by Roman roads, and the language of the conquered and the conquerors mingled. In the more remote parts, the difficulties of travel and communication would prevent frequent intercourse; but that the Romans penetrated into the heart of Wales is proved by the remains of their building, found in all parts of the Principality.

The Roman dominion continued 450 years, and during this time the races must have become entirely intermingled. Those who left Britain may be said to have been British Romans, and those who remained, Roman Britons. During this time the Christian faith, which was, no doubt, received in the time of the Apostles, continued to increase; but the heathen Saxons and the Danes drove out Christianity, and the Saxon Woden and the Danish Oden were set up and worshipped instead. Alfred conquered the Danes, and again the races mingled, and, in spite of different faiths, became one. William the Norman plundered and slew with reckless cruelty, but did not, like the Saxons and the Danes, destroy all before him; and though he ruled with great severity, driving many to seek refuge in other lands, he, by his mighty power, united the English races. Norman French was spoken only among the courtiers and nobility. One language was now spoken among the people, and unity followed. The stubborn Celts alone refused to mingle and improve.

During several centuries after the Norman Conquest, strife continued between the kings of England and the Pope. The ancient British Church had never submitted to Augustine and his followers, and now the contest again arose. The Norman kings at length submitted to the Pope; and until the reign of Elizabeth the Church of England did not entirely regain her freedom.

Roman Encampment.

The camp of a Roman legion consisted of 6,831 men, with attendant auxiliaries 12,500 men, and had the appearance of a fortified city. The form of the camp was an exact quadrangle, of about 700 feet square. This was sufficient for the encampment of 20,000 men. In the centre of the camp was the prætorium, or general's quarters, which were above the others. The streets were broad and straight. The cavalry, infantry, and other auxiliaries occupied their respective stations. A vacant space of 200 feet was left on all sides between the tent and the rampart, which was usually 12 feet high, crossed with strong and intricate palisades. The outer defence was a fosse, or ditch, 12 feet wide, and the same depth. 'Active valour,' adds the historian (Gibbon), 'might be the gift of Nature, but such patient diligence can be the fruit only of habit and discipline.'

Remains of these encampments are found on all the high hills in Shropshire—the Wrekin, Caradoc, and Clee Hill, where there are also found remains of British camps. Many towns grew out of the stationary camps of the Roman soldiers. The Golden Eagle, which glittered in front of the Roman legions, was the object of their fondest devotion, nor was it esteemed less impious than ignominious to abandon that sacred ensign in the hour of danger.

Note 3, p. 32.

PENDA.

Penda, a heathen king of Mercia, being jealous of the power of Edwin, King of Northumbria, who had married Ethelberga, daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent, and become a Christian, entered into warfare against him, and sought the help of Cadwalla, a British king, who, though a Christian, was revengeful and rapacious. He joined Penda against the Northumbrians, because he hated the Saxons, the conquerors of his race. Bede tells us that Ethelfrid, who governed Northumbria before Edwin, 'had ravaged the Britons more than all the great men of the English.' He had raised a mighty army, and made very great slaughter of them at the 'City of Legions' (Chester). Most of these victims were of the monastery of Bangor, who had come to offer up their prayers to God for the soldiers.

Ethelfrid was enraged when he saw the British priests, and said: 'Though they do not bear arms, they fight against us by their prayers;' and he commanded them to be attacked first. About twelve hundred of those who came to pray are said (Bede) to have been massacred, and only fifty to have escaped. The destruction of the monastery at Bangor followed, A.D. 607. Cadwalla, in joining Penda against the Northumbrians, thus sought revenge.

Edwin was slain in battle at Heathfield, near Doncaster. His widowed queen fled back to Kent, with Paulinus, her priest, and the two ruthless conquerors devastated the country.

Northumbria was now divided. Osric, who had received the faith from Paulinus, son of Elfric, Edwin's uncle, ruled

over Deira, and Eanfrid, son of Ethelfrid, over Bernicia. The father had been baptized at Iona, and had received the Christian faith, but these kings returned to heathenism.

Cadwalla had remained in the North, and made himself master of York. In a battle with him Osric was slain and his army destroyed. Eanfrid, who came to the British king to sue for peace, he slew, as well as the twelve chosen soldiers who accompanied him. Oswald, Eanfrid's brother, was now king, and was, says Bede, 'a man beloved of God,' and he restored Christianity. During the reign of Edwin, Oswald, with his elder brother Eanfrid, and his younger brother Osway, had lived in banishment, and was baptized and instructed in the Christian faith at Iona, where they found refuge.

When Oswald was about to give battle to Cadwalla, who was still at warfare with the Northumbrians, he had a vision which encouraged him. In the centre of his camp he caused a large wooden cross to be placed, and, kneeling down, he clung to it, and prayed so earnestly that all his followers pledged themselves to renounce idolatry if they were victorious. They gained the battle, and Cadwalla was slain; but Penda again raised an army, A.D. 642, at Maserfield, which is generally supposed to have been near Oswestry, and here Oswald was slain—hence the name. Great miracles are said to have been performed on the spot where he fell. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Oswy, who was also harassed by the pagan king Penda. This troublesome King of Mercia was at last slain in battle with Oswy, at Winwidfield, near Leeds. Oswy had made a vow that if he won this battle he would dedicate his daughter, Elfleda, to the Lord in holy virginity. This he did, and gave twelve farms (small pieces of land) to build monasteries —six in the province of Deira, and six in Bernicia.

At this time, A.D. 655, there was a monastery on the island of Hart (Hartlepool). Hilda, great-niece of King Edwin, daughter of Hereris, was abbess. Here Elfleda spent her life, and died at the age of sixty. The Abbess Hilda, having 'gained a possession,' founded a monastery at Whitby (Streaneshalch), and died here, aged sixty-six, A.D. 680.

After the death of Penda, paganism disappeared from Mercia. Oswy was succeeded by his son, Alfrid, who married

Cyneberga, daughter of Penda, she and her brother, Peada, having become Christians.

Diuma, of Lindisfarne, was first Bishop of Mercia. His see was at Repton, Derbyshire. The see was afterwards removed by St. Chad to Lichfield, where it has since remained. In the time of Offa, King of Mercia, it became the archiepiscopal see, A.D. 789. Lichfield (Field of the Dead) is said to have had its name from the martyrdom of 1,000 Christians during the Diocletian persecution.

St. Chad did much for the conversion of Mercia and Middle Anglia. He and his brothers, Cedd, Cynebil, and Celin, founded the monastery of Lastingham, Yorkshire, and there established the religious customs of Lindisfarne, where they had been educated.

Cedd was made Bishop of London, East Anglia. Chad was first Bishop of York, afterwards of Lichfield. He died 669, and was buried near St. Mary's Church. In 1148 his remains were removed to the present cathedral.

The monastery of Lastingham was destroyed about 870. But if nothing remains of the ancient original edifice, the names of the brothers are remembered and revered, and the old Saxon church is one of the most ancient in the kingdom. It has been recently restored, and is a very interesting and handsome edifice.

Note 4, p. 38.

LLYWARCH HÊN.

Llywarch Hên was one of the most celebrated ancient bards. His birthplace is not known, but it is evident from his poems that he spent much of his life in Shropshire, and that here his interests and affections were centred. He had twenty-four sons, who were killed in the battles with the Saxons. At the end of the sixth century he wrote an elegy to Cordolanus and Frevel, his sister, who at that time lived at Uriconium (Wroxeter). He died in the middle of the seventh century, at the age of one hundred and fifty.

His father, Elidyr, was a prince of North Britain, or Cambria, which comprised that part of England which is now called the Lake District, including the counties further northward. The inhabitants were of the race of Roman Britons, and had great conflicts with the northern invaders, as well as with the Saxons. His mother, Gwawr, is said to have been the daughter of Brychan, an Irish chieftain, who had sought refuge in Britain.

Llywarch seems to have lived at this time in Cambria, and to have engaged in the general warfare against the predatory invasions of their more northern neighbours; but, after the devastation of his property and other misfortunes, he took refuge with Cynddylan, prince of Powys, at Pengwern (Shrewsbury), the ancient residence of these princes.

He was hospitably received by Cynddylan, and finding this prince engaged in warfare, he, with such of his sons as had survived the northern contests, joined in the battle, from which he alone escaped, all his sons being slain. One of his sons is said to have been so handsome that he was

called 'Swadde Bryd Angel'—Swadde of angelic mien ; and that on one occasion his enemies in battle, supposing him to be an angel, opened a way for him to pass unmolested. All his sons were distinguished by the 'golden tongues.' He says :

> 'Four and twenty sons I have had,
> Wearing the golden wreath—leaders of armies.'

His property was called Argoed (on the wood). A village near Shrewsbury retains the ancient name, and 'The Men of Argoed' is a proverb in Salop. A cottage at Llanvair bears his name, 'Llywarch's Cottage,' but there is nothing which indicates that he had any connection with it. It would seem from his poem on Cynddylan, in which he mourns, not him only, but his brother Elvan, that he lived in the latter part of his life either in or near Shrewsbury. After his disasters, there is no trace of his dwelling.

In the English translation of his poems, in which language it has been thought best to give the following extracts, that highly poetical wail for which the Welsh language is so well adapted is almost entirely lost. It reads but as an echo of that strain which in the original is so expressive of grief and suffering. Llywarch's writings are greatly valued for their faithful historical character, and though they only relate to circumstances of a particular time, they throw a light upon the age in which he lived.

One of the great maxims of the ancient bards was to examine everything without prejudice, to draw their conclusions from evidence, and to abide by the result only. This spirit of investigation had, no doubt, been encouraged among the Druids, and probably led the Britons to listen to argument in favour of Christianity, for it is said that 'they embraced it with more openness than any other people, and that the functions of the Christian priesthood continued to be exercised by the different orders of the bards until the time of Germanus and Lupus.'

The breaking up of the bardic institutions caused the loss of the greater part of the ancient traditions. There are, however, in existence large collections of ancient manuscripts, and the bardic spirit is still cultivated in Wales. Llywarch's 'Elegy on his Old Age,' is expressive of great sorrows. He

bewails the loss of his children, his friends and all his earthly blessings:

> 'Before I went on crutches I was bold;
> I was admitted to the congress house
> Of Powys—the paradise of the Cymry.'

Like Job, weighed down by the accumulated sufferings of age, sickness and grief, he mourns the day of his birth (Job iii.):

> 'Wretched was the fate that was decreed
> To Llywarch on the night of his birth:
> Long pains without being delivered of his load of sorrow. . . .'

The whole scene of his 'Elegy on Cynddylan ap Cyndrwyn' lies in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury. He speaks of the prince as

> 'Cynddylan, the glorious pillar of his country;
> The obstinate toiler in the conflict that wore the chain;
> The defender of Tren (Tern), the patrimony of his sire.'

Here he mourns the destruction of Pengwern:

> 'Stand out, ye virgins, and behold the habitation of Cynddylan,
> The royal palace of Pengwern! Is it not in flames?
> Woe to the young ones that long to enter into social ties!
>
> 'Cynddylan,* the splendid purple of Powys to thee belonged,
> The retreat of strangers was the life of my lord.
> The warlike son of Cyndrwyn, for thee I moan,
> Cynddylan, thou comely son of Cyndrwyn!
> * * * * * *
> 'The hall of Cynddylan, gloomy seems thy roof
> Since the Loegyrians have destroyed Cynddylan and Elvan of Powys.
> The eagle of Pengwern, with the brown beak,
> Very loud is his scream,
> Jealous for the flush of him I loved.
>
> 'The eagle of Pengwern calls far about to-night,
> On the blood of men he is seen;
> Hence Tren shall be called the flaming town.
> The churches of Bassa† are enriched this night,
> Containing the departed remains

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* Cynddylan had four brothers and six sons, who nearly, if not all, perished in the battles with the Saxons.

† Basselock.

Of the pillar of battle, the heart of the men of Argoed.
The churches of Bassa have lost their privilege
Since the Loegyrians have destroyed
Cynddylan and Elvan of Powys.

'The hall of Cynddylan is silent to-night,
After having lost its lord.
Great God of mercy, what shall I do?
The hall of Cynddylan, how gloomy seems thy roof
Since the Loegyrians have destroyed Cynddylan and Elvan of Powys. . . .'

Here follows the elegy to Cordolanus and Frevel, who lived at Uriconium at the end of the sixth century:

'The white town in the skirt of the wood,
Of its youth from time immemorial has been
On the surface of the grass, their blood.

'The white town in the cultivated plain,
Its youth—* its blue sons of contemplation†
And its blood are under the feet of men.

'The white town between Tren and Traval,
More used was it to have the blood
On the grass than to plough the fallow land.

'Alas, Frevel! how loud thy moaning to-night,
After the death of Elvan
And the eagle of Cynddylan and Cyndrwyn.

'Fair Frevel, they were brothers that cherished thee.
They were not descended from a base origin:
They were men who did not cherish timidity.

'Fair Frevel, to thee they were brothers,
Who, when they heard the clashing of spears of an army,
Would not suffer the abode of rest to stand over them.'

Here comes a description of the Tren and Tredouwy (expressive of foaming waters) uniting, possibly the Tern and the Severn.

Then he continues:

'The sod of Arcol is on the ashes of fierce [brave] men descended from Morial‡. . . .
Have not mine eyes gazed on a pleasant land
From the conspicuous seat of Corwynion?§

---

* Origin. † Bards.

‡ An ancient warrior.

§ Here he probably alludes to the seat of Gorwynion, a hero he bewails. The ancient British custom of holding Court on the hills is still represented on the Tynwald, in the Isle of Man.

'Have I not gazed from the high places* on the city of Wrecon,†
On the verdant vale of Freval,
With grief for the destruction of my social friends?

'Slain were my brethren all at once,
Cynan, Cynddylan, and Cynvraidd,
In defending Tren, a town laid waste.

'Brethren I had who were free from evil,
Who grew up like hazel saplings;
One by one they are all departed.'

From another translation:

'Stand forth, maidens! behold the dwelling of Cynddylan,
The palace of Pengwern! Is it not in flames?
The hall of Cynddylan is without love to-night,
Since he that owned it is no more.
The hall of Cynddylan—it pierces me to see it
Without a covering, without a fire!
My chieftain is no more, and I myself am here!

'The white town in the valley—
Joyful were its inmates when affording mutual aid in battle;
But its citizens, are they not gone?

'Have not mine eyes gazed on a delightful land
From the high mountains of Gorwynion?‡
Long is the course of the sun, longer far my remembrance.

'Have I not gazed on the lofty city of Wrecon
In the verdant valley of Feuer [Fraval]
With grief for the destruction of my friends?'

---

* Probably from the Wrekin.

† Wrecon-Wroxeter, same derivation as Wrekin (Brikkin).

‡ Caer Wrygion in the catalogue of Bishop Usher and Dr. Williams seems to have been the same, and it is probable that the Caer Gorgorn in the Triads and the Guirigion of Nennius were the same.

Note 5, p. 47.

THE SPARROW-HAWK.

There are in many ancient charters interesting accounts of the sparrow-hawk. In one of these charters, dated 1200, when Alan de Dunstanville was lord of the manor of Iteshale (Shifferal), we find that he gave to Olim, his harper and vassal, land in custody, with the son of a deceased vassal as his ward.

In consideration of the wardship, Olim and his men were exempted from all 'taxe and tol,' and were free of all service, except that Olim should mew* one sparrow-hawk at his own cost, or mew a goshawk at the expense of his lord, the lord's men to provide the cage for the bird. The Lord of Langleye was 'every year to convey a goshawk from the gate of Shrewsbury Castle to Stepneye,' in Essex, which was near the King's palace of Havering.

On November 20, 1825, Peter Turbet and Oldeburg his wife enfeoff Lawrence de Ludelawe in a messuage and shop in Ludelawe (Ludlow), to hold of the granters of Oldeburg at a rent of *one rose.*

One soar sparrow-hawk to be paid for the grant.

The natural habits of the sparrow-hawk are extremely interesting. It is the most common of the British species of that tribe. There is no bird more daring and spirited. It hunts in large woods, but may frequently be seen sweeping ove hedges in every part of the country. Males and females, like chaffinches, separate in the winter. The females are believed to be more bold than the males,

* Train to soar. Hence soar-hawk, and mews, referring to places where hawks are kept and trained.

because they are more frequently seen, but in numbers they are about equal.

The sparrow-hawk seeks an elevated position, from whence it looks out for its prey. If successful in its ken, it swoops down suddenly upon its unfortunate victim; if not, it launches leisurely into the air. When on the wing in search of prey its movements are very graceful. It sweeps along, apparently without any exertion, swiftly, but gently and steadily, at one moment gliding without motion of the wings, and then seeming to acquire an impetus from flapping them. They avoid every obstacle to their flight with the most certain discrimination. The flight is sometimes very rapid, and it takes its prey in the air as well as on the ground. It was formerly used for hunting partridges, land-rails and quails. The smaller birds it will swallow whole; the larger ones it divests of their feathers and divides them. The male bird flies away in danger. The female shows great courage in the protection of her young; but should she be captured, the tender pater will look carefully after the young. He does this, however, with great caution, and to avoid being trapped, he drops the food to them from the air, having previously adapted it judiciously to their capacities by plucking and taking off the heads of the small birds he brings.

The sparrow-hawk is seldom its own builder; it prefers a furnished apartment. The tenement of a crow or a magpie is frequently sought by these clever birds, and ejectment of the occupier is frequently resorted to, and they will occupy the nest until repairs are needed. They are the terror of small birds. In their fright some have been known to seek shelter in the bosom of persons witnessing the chase. They do not, however, confine themselves to small game. Fifteen young pheasants, four young partridges, five chickens, two larks, two pipits, and one bull-finch have been found about the nest of a single pair. They are said to have the power of fascinating their prey, but it is more probable that their helpless victims are paralyzed by terror. It is said, nevertheless, that small birds, in flocks, sometimes pursue and tease their enemy—an instinctive precaution keeping them, no doubt, at a safe and respectful distance. They sometimes run great risk in

the pursuit of their prey, entering churches and even houses in reckless determination.

A story is related of a sparrow-hawk which, seeing a bird fall into the water immediately after the discharge of a gun, poised itself elegantly for a moment over it, apparently not wishing to wet its wings, dropped its legs, cleverly picked it up in its claws and carried it off. A male sparrow-hawk carrying a small bird in its talons has been seen pursued by a finch successfully for a quarter of an hour. This was probably that mother's love so remarkable among all feathered tribes, which is so perfect that it 'casts out fear.' The hawk had most likely robbed the poor finch of her young.

The sparrow-hawk lays from three to six eggs; they are of a round form, much marked at the thicker end with deep reddish blots. The male weighs from five to six ounces. Length, from 11 to 13 inches. Wings expand to 1 foot 6 inches. Female weighs about nine ounces; length, 14 to 16 inches. Wings expand to about 2 feet, 4 or 5 inches.

Male—colour: bill, light blue at the base, blue-black at the end; cere, dull yellow; iris, bright yellow, and molested above by a strong bony projection, on which the feathers are partly white, as they are at the back of the head. Front and sides of head yellowish-red, throat same, but paler; shafts dark. Each feather has five bands of white and six of pale dusky red. Breast as throat, has bands, the shafts two or three dark marks on upper part, not on the lower; back, deep grayish-blue; shafts darker. An evanescent bloom is seen on this colour, which fades when the bird is dead.

Female—colour: bill, cere and iris same as male; head and crown dark-gray, a white band over the eyes which, runs into the white at back of the neck. Neck and nape brown. Throat and breast reddish-white, with lines of dark-brown. Back, grayish-red. As the birds grow older their colouring becomes more alike.

Note 6, p. 53.

PERSONAL NAMES.

All who have lived much in the country and among old-fashioned people (alas! how few are left), or who have made researches among old documents, will have observed that nothing has such an indestructible life as local names. In these ancient documents and registers we find that the names which have been given have been taken up by succeeding generations, and not only subjected to its method of representing sounds, but also to the caprice of adding or eliminating parts. Even the same generation have often changed and disfigured, through carelessness or misconception, the names of their ancestors. 'Such is the virulence of phonetic language,' says Max Müller, 'that it will sometimes eat away the whole body of a word, and leave nothing behind it but decayed fragments.'

Those who read these pages will observe that many of the names of persons and places in Shropshire have undergone this process, though some very ancient names have descended to us without mutilation or addition. It will generally be found that the uneducated and very old people retain a pronunciation of names nearest to the original spelling—as Weliton, Upiton, etc. It is remarkable, and an evidence of the tenacity of names, that Attingham, from Ettingham (Children of Eata), should have survived, though the name of the village should have been corrupted into Atcham.

The custom of adding an *e* or *eye* to names was a very general practice. Thus:

Kinnersly,	Kinnersleye.
Brosley,	Brosleye.
Harley,	Harleye.
Langley,	Langleye.
Apply-Apel, Appel, Appley,	Appeleye.
Bitterley,	Butterleye, Bitterleye.

The Cufauds, an old Hampshire family, have the most curious varieties in the spelling of their name. In the time of Henry VIII. they were called Cuffold ; in 1562, Cuffyu ; in 1578, Cuffolde. One of them called himself Cowfollde. He who used so many superfluous letters to designate himself was the grandfather of William Cufaude, who married Mary Pole. His father was sometimes Cowfollde or Cufaude. Some of the family were called Cuffle.

The above-named Mary Pole, then sometimes written Poole, and still so pronounced, was daughter of Geoffry Pole. She was companion to Princess Mary, afterwards Queen Mary, at Ludlow Castle, where they were educated together. Mary Cufaude, *née* Pole, witnessed the death (at the Tower) of her grandmother, the Countess of Salisbury, called Princess Margaret Plantagenet, last of the White Roses, and last of her race.*

Abbreviation of words was formerly very common, and in many instances very curious. Following a person 'like a Tantony pig' is a common saying in Shropshire. It comes from the blessing of the animals in Rome, on St. Anthony's Day. The pigs being proverbially self-willed, it is probable that to prevent their being refractory in the presence of his holiness, they were tamed and petted to ensure their being quiet for the occasion, though it has been suggested that the Pope's benediction calmed their temperaments and made them affectionate. From the decking of the shrine of St. Audrey, we have 'tawdry;' and fairs held on St. Andrew's Day, which used to be general, were called 'Tandrew Fair.'

John Botefield, first Marquis of Bath, was called 'John o' the Inne.' Hence their family name, Thynne.

* 'Life of Mary Cufaude.'

Note 7, p. 93.

BELLS.

Many touching remarks were made when, in 1885, the two old bells which had hung so long in the little square tower of Uppington Church were carted away on a truck. One (if not both) of them is said to have hung there for many centuries. It would be interesting to know how many generations had listened to them. When one of them tolled the death knell, no sound could be more sonorous and sad; but when on festive occasions both were rung, nothing could be more lively, and it required two men and much skill to produce the merry jingle that used to ring out.

The jingle was believed to say:

> 'Jack and Jim, the tailor,
> Hang the rogue, the ringer.'

Like many another enigma (for it *was* enigmatical), it was easy enough to distinguish or imagine the words when you had been told them.

A wedding was always a great occasion for the ringers to exert their skill. On Christmas Eve the merry peal was always heard, and the midnight peals for the old and new years were never omitted. The ringers possessed a huge tin can, which they had bought by subscription. It was sent round to the different houses for beer, and the donors of it were toasted with good wishes for future luck.

On one of these occasions the larger bell was cracked, and the words of the jingle became indistinct, and ringing ceased.

Wroxeter, too, had its jingle :

'One, two, three, four, five, catch a hare alive ;
Six, seven, eight, nine, ten, let him out again.'

'Pitch 'em and patch 'em,
Ses the bells of old Atcham.'

About bells there are many superstitions and a multitude of legends.

Pliny, born at Verona, A.D. 22, says bells were used long before his time, and were called tintinnabula. They were used in the heathen temples to announce their feasts, etc.

Church bells originated from cymbals, and were called 'tinkling-bells,' from handbells used in religious ceremonies in the East. They were first used among Christians to call together the worshippers. For this purpose runners had been previously employed, who used a kind of clapper made of sacred wood. These are still used in some Roman Catholic countries. During Holy Week, when the bells are not used on account of the solemnity of the season, the return to the use of the bells on Easter Sunday has a cheerful effect.

Church bells were introduced into Britain soon after they were invented ; but the custom of naming and baptizing them did not commence until the eighth century. When they first came into use they were suspended on the roofs of churches and convents in a frame. As early as the sixth century, they were placed inside city churches.

Pope Sebastian, who died A.D. 605, ordered the hours of the day to be struck by the bell, in order that people might attend to the *hora canonica* (hours of prayer and singing).

At Holywell a bell was formerly shown which was not loud enough to be heard over the town ; therefore the ringer, who was called 'a walking steeple,' or 'runner,' carried it round and rang it in different parts of the parish.

In a Welsh village formerly, where there was no church bell, the clerk walked round the town and summoned the congregation after the manner of the town-crier, by chanting in a loud voice the people's names : 'Shon Morgan, Shon Shones, Shon Morgan, Shon Shones, Shon Shenkin, Shon Daffydd, Shon Thomas, Shon Shones, etc.'

Clothaire II., King of France, hearing a bell in the tower

of a church in Sens, Burgundy, give forth such exquisite sounds, ordered it to be brought to Paris ; but when there, it refused to give forth any sound. The King was terrified, and ordered it to be immediately taken back to Sens. When, four miles away, a turning on the road brought the ancient city to view, the bell rang out loud and clear, though no hand touched it.

The bishop and people went forth to meet it with prayers and hymns and thanksgiving, whilst maidens strewed the way with flowers.

Another beautiful legend says that the folk living at Farrabury, on the Cornish coast, envied the sweet bells of Tintagel. At length they also obtained a peal of bells, but having been cast far away, they had to be conveyed thither by sea. Favouring winds brought the vessel swiftly to their shore, and the inhabitants crowded to the beach to await the landing of the precious freight when the tide should float the vessel into the harbour. The Angelus sounded from Tintagel's tower, and the pious pilot, devoutly crossing himself, knelt down and offered thanks to God. But the captain laughed, and said, 'The praise is due to me for bringing the vessel safe ;' and he swore a fearful oath. He had scarcely uttered the words when, a mighty wave lifting the ship upon its crest, a wild cry went forth from the crowd on the shore, and she sank, with all on board except the pious pilot, who swam safely to shore. And there was heard wafted on the still evening air the muffled sound of bells as when a knell is tolled. And still beneath the troubled waves, when storms approach, may be heard the muffled peal.

Bells are composed of copper and tin, the proportion of tin varying from one-third to one-fifth, according to the size of the bell and the impulse to be given.

Note 8, p. 93.

CHURCH CHESTS.

The custom of placing chests in churches is of great antiquity. We find, 2 Kings xii. 9, that 'Jehoiada the priest took a chest, and bored a hole in the lid of it, and set it beside the altar, on the right side as one cometh into the house of the Lord: and the priests that kept the door put therein all the money that was brought into the house of the Lord.'

Many ancient chests are still to be seen in our churches, and are of great interest. At St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford, there is a chest ornamented with scroll-work in iron, and it is fastened to a hook in the wall, which is also ornamented in a similar manner. At Llanabar there is a chest hewn out of a single block of wood. It was the custom for people to put their alms into these chests. The vicar and churchwarden had keys. From Bingley's ('North Wales') account, true charity does not appear to have been the motive which induced people to give. The wake, or festival day of the saint to whom the church was dedicated, was a special time for bringing offerings, and most of those who assembled brought some offering to the saint to ensure their future prosperity, palliate their offences, and secure blessings on their families, their cattle, corn, etc. At Llanelian (called Cyff Ebian or Ellan) he says he saw a chest near the door, and 'people out of health, to this day (1805), send their offering to the saint, which they put through the hole on the top into the chest.

'A silver groat (4d.), though not a very common coin, is said to be a present peculiarly acceptable, and has been

known to procure the intercession of the saint when all other coins have failed.' At Halesowen, Salop, there is a chest hollowed out like a trough from the trunk of a tree, and bound with iron straps. At a later period the carving of these chests was made to harmonize with the architecture of the church. There is a very fine chest of oak in the treasury of York Cathedral, on the front of which is carved the legend of St. George and the fair lady whom he rescued from destruction (time, Henry V.).

Note 9, p. 164.

Iona and Lindisfarne; Cuthbert.

Iona.

'Where'er we tread 'tis haunted holy ground.'
Byron.

The heathen Saxons ruthlessly swept away the ancient British Church, but those which still remained faithful, and clung to the traditions and teaching of their fathers, formed a kind of clan system by which they still governed their ecclesiastical affairs.

In 429 Bede says: 'The faith of the Britons had become corrupted by the Pelagian heresy, and Germanus, a Gallican prelate, with Lupus of Troyes, came over to Britain to confirm the faith.' St. Ninias, son of a priest of N. Wales, had maintained the Catholic faith during the heretical teaching of his countryman and contemporary Pelagius, whose real name was Morgan. St. Ninias corresponded with St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, and also visited him. Being anxious to preach the Gospel to the Scots, he went to Gaul for education, and finally received Episcopal orders.

St. Patrick,* a youth of noble birth, whose father and grandfather were priests, was stolen by pirates from the Clyde and taken to Ireland; he was incited by a dream to make his escape, but was a second time taken prisoner and carried to Gaul, where some Christian merchants restored him to his country and friends. The heathen customs of those among whom he had lived in his captivity in Ireland grieved him, and he resolved to become a missionary among

* His name was Patricius or Patrick, 'noble birth.'

them. His father sent him to Gaul to be educated, and in due time he was consecrated Bishop of Ireland. He returned to Ireland with twelve friends, and after a few years of success founded the See of Armagh, which has ever since been the chief bishopric of Ireland. After his death the Irish Church lost ground, and was indebted to the British Church for its revival. After the death of St. Patrick, St. Finian of Clonard, who had been educated and ordained at Menevia (St. David's), established similar communities in Ireland, where many earnest men were trained, who revived the Irish Church and went forth to preach the Gospel in other lands. Columba was one of them. He was made Abbot of Durrogh. When on a visit to his old tutor Finian, he secretly copied a manuscript belonging to his host. Finian claimed the copy, Columba disputed the claim, and Diarmaid, a relative of Columba, was requested to arbitrate between them. He decided that the copy belonged to the owner of the book. Columba left Tara's halls in anger, and seeking the aid of the King of Connaught, he instigated him to make war on King Diarmaid.

The religious fraternity held a council, which condemned the conduct of Columba, and he was banished from his native land until he should have won from the heathen as many souls to Christ as would replace those lost in the contest. Columba yielded with humility to the decree, and, taking with him twelve companions, crossed over to Scotland in a coracle made of wicker-work covered with hides. They landed upon a small island, separated by a strait from the larger island of Mull, on the eve of Whit Sunday, A.D. 565.

King Connell, who was Columba's kinsman, gave him the island for his religious purposes, and from here he and his companions, in their small barques, carried the light of the Gospel to the numberless islands around them —even Iceland was not considered too far or too dangerous for their enterprises, and many of the brethren filled conspicuous and important places in the English Church.

Columba's name is said to have been given to him by his scholars for the dove-like gentleness of his character. A French writer speaking of him says, '*Soit*, but it must be admitted that some of the traits recorded of him *ne sont*

*pas Colombine du tout.'** The words spoken by Columba just before he died have been literally fulfilled: 'To this place,' he said, 'little and poor though it be, there shall come great honour, not only from Scottish kings and peoples, but from barbarous and foreign nations, and from the saints of other churches also.'

The kings of Scotland were crowned by St. Columba and his successors on the stone which is now kept in Westminster Abbey, and is always placed under the throne at the coronation of our sovereigns. The graves of the Scottish and foreign kings who have been buried in Iona are carefully protected, and the ruins of the ancient monastery where Columba's ashes lie are also kept by the Lord of the isle.

Boswell, in his 'Tour to the Hebrides,' 1773, says of Iona: 'When we landed upon the sacred spot, which, as long as I can remember, I had thought of with veneration, Dr. Johnson and I cordially embraced. Johnson said: "The man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."'

Their cicerone called himself a cousin of St. Columba. Boswell expresses a hope that after having been in this holy place he should maintain an exemplary life. The island is still true to the faith it received. A retreat for celibates was held there from July 2 to July 5, 1895. Father Hollings, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, was the conductor. The Bishop of the diocese and the Provost of Cumbra were also present, and assisted in carrying out the arrangements. The guests were received at the Bishop's house, which has been recently built on the island. The Eucharist was celebrated every morning service, and meditation held in the Bishop's chapel. All the interesting and historical places on the island were visited—Angel's Hill, where the saint is said to have been seen wrapt in prayer, surrounded by angels; the Machair plains on the western side of the island, where shortly before his death he blessed the fields and the labours of the monks; the way-

* It may be mentioned that no birds fight more fiercely than doves. St. Columba is sometimes confused with Columbanus, who founded several monasteries in France and Italy.

side cross* where occurred the touching incident of the farewell between St. Columba and the monastery horse on the eve of his death; and finally the Torr Abb, where, from a little rocky mound opposite the west door, the dying saint blessed the monastery, and foretold the future fame of Iona. He died at the age of seventy-seven. The ancient name of Iona was I or Hi. It is also called I-Colum-Kill, the island of 'Colum of the Cells.'

Lindisfarne.

Oswald, King of Northumbria, had in his youth found shelter in his banishment in Iona, where he had received the Christian faith. When, after the death of Edwin, he became King, he was desirous that his people should also be converted to the faith, and sent there to the priests by whom he himself had been baptized, 'desiring that they would send him a bishop, by whose instruction and ministry the English nation which he governed should receive the sacraments of the Christian faith.'

The first missionary obtained little success. On his return to Iona he said 'success among a people so stubborn and barbarous was impossible.' Aidan, another of the brethren, inquired of him if it was their stubbornness or his own severity which had been the cause of his failure. 'Didst thou forget God's word—to give them the milk first and then the meat?'

This led to his being chosen as the fittest for the mission, and on his arrival Oswald appointed him his episcopal see on the island of Lindisfarne (A.D. 634). Many touching stories are told of Aidan. He was the most saintly of all the brethren. A church and monastery were built, which gave to the spot the name of Holy Island. Those trained here were soon in great demand. All the northern Churches of Bernicia and Deira had their beginning here, and the Celtic customs and rules of Iona were spread over the greater part of Britain, where other missionaries had failed, and England again became Christian.

* Of the 300 crosses once existing in Iona, only 60 now remain. Two of these, near the ruins, are very handsome ones, and are now carefully preserved.

Bede tells us that Aidan was a man of singular meekness, piety and moderation. King Oswald listened in all things to his moderation, and as he was not skilful in the English tongue, the King, who in his banishment at Iona had learnt the Scottish tongue, became his interpreter, accompanying him on many of his missions, and very soon many English were ordained priests. Aidan presided and laboured at Lindisfarne thirty years. Eata was one of the 'twelve boys' whom Aidan trained and sent to work in different provinces. Whilst Aidan lived the 'difference about the observance of Easter was patiently tolerated by all men, as being sensible that though he could not keep Easter contrary to the custom of those who had sent him, yet he industriously laboured to practise all works of piety, and to live according to the custom of all holy men.' Finan succeeded Aidan; after him Colman came to be bishop, and a great controversy arose concerning the time of observing Easter and the fashion of the tonsure, which had not been adopted until after the third century.

Wilfrid, a learned man, afterwards Bishop of York, had been to Rome to learn ecclesiastical doctrine, and wished to instruct the Northumbrians in that doctrine, and to establish the customs of that Church. It was agreed that a Synod should be held at Whitby (A.D. 664).* The Abbess Hilda and her followers, as well as St. Chad, who had long before been ordained in the British Church, were on the side of Colman, who declared, 'The Easter I keep I have received from my elders, who sent me Bishop hither. All our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have kept it after the same manner, and that the same may not seem contemptible or worthy to be rejected, it is the same which St. John the Evangelist, the disciple beloved of the Lord, with all the Churches over which he presided, is recorded to have observed,' etc. Oswy, who was King at this time, observed that it behoved all who worshipped the same God to observe the same rules, but that they should inquire which was the truest tradition, that the same might be followed by all.

Colman, who was a simple-minded man, could not withstand the rhetorical power which Wilfrid had acquired

* Bede, 'Ecc. Hist.,' p. 155.

abroad, but would neither comply with the Western observance of Easter nor the method of the Roman tonsure; and when he found that the ancient traditions of his fathers were rejected, and the saintly founders of his Church despised, he resigned his bishopric and sailed away to Iona, taking with him those of the English who would not yield to the decision. He afterwards went away to a small island on the west coast of Ireland, called Inisbofinde, which still retains its ancient name. Here he built a monastery. Dissensions arising between the brethren and the English, he built a second monastery at Mageo, and separated them.

Aidan was Bishop of Lindisfarne seventeen years, Finan ten, Colman three. Tuda, who had come from Iona whilst Colman was yet Bishop, succeeded him as fourth Bishop. He confirmed the observance of Easter according to the Western Church, which custom has continued from that time in England. The Eastern Churches have always continued to observe the festival at the time appointed by St. John, the same as the early British Church, for which Colman contended.

Tuda lived only a short time.* He was succeeded by Eata, who, at the request of Colman, had been permitted by King Oswy to remain at Lindisfarne as Abbot over the brethren whom he left there.

When Eata was appointed to the see, Cuthbert was made Prior of the monastery. Wilfrid was now Archbishop of York, and Lindisfarne became a separate see, but when Wilfrid was afterwards driven from his see, Eata presided over Bernicia (at Hexham). He was succeeded there by John of Beverley, and at Lindisfarne by Cuthbert.

After the decision at Whitby, Theodore, who, like St. Paul, was a native of Tarsus, was sent from Rome, though seventy years of age, to organize the 'Church of England,' as it was now called (668); and it was he who welded together the two Churches. He founded new sees and formed parishes, and missionaries became settled clergy. The old divisions began

* In 664 a pestilential disease destroyed great numbers; among them Deusdedit, Archbishop of Canterbury; Cedd, Bishop of London, brother of Chadd; Damien, Bishop of Rochester; Tuda, Bishop of Lindisfarne.

to disappear, and the people came to look with satisfaction to one Primate at Canterbury, to which dignity Theodore was raised, but history shows that the authority of the Pope has never really been tolerated in England.

Cuthbert.

The life of St. Cuthbert, in connection with Lindisfarne, is extremely interesting. From a boy he had a longing for the holy life, and when a shepherd on Lammermoor his longings became a resolute will to prepare himself to be a shepherd of souls. Having had a dream, or vision, in which he saw a multitude of angels in a stream of light (probably a shower of meteors), bearing a pure soul to Paradise, and hearing that Aidan, the saintly Bishop of Lindisfarne, had died that night, he was so impressed that he resolved to obtain admission to a religious house, and found his way to the monastic settlement of Melrose, a branch of Lindisfarne. He was admitted to the brotherhood A.D. 651. Here he studied under Eata, and, after diligent study and unusual energy, he became Prior.

In 664 he was, on account of his great sanctity, made Prior of Lindisfarne. It is said of him that 'he was wont to blend severity towards sin with infinite tenderness towards the sinner, believing such tenderness to be the best method with honest confession of shortcoming. He went on perilous journeys among the most barbarous of the Anglo-Saxon people, and was so eloquent none could resist his touching appeals to their hearts and consciences.

'The expression of his face was so pure and refined, and when preaching the Gospel it assumed a brightness like the face of an angel, and his look was so penetrating and earnest, that his hearers were fascinated, and so convinced that he knew their sin that they were led to receive pardon and peace.' He was humorous, and had great patience. His vigorous frame fitted him for the arduous work he had chosen.

On one occasion, when he and his companions had no food, he encouraged them by saying: 'Never did man die of hunger who served God faithfully. Look at the eagle overhead. God can give us food through him, if He will.'

Once, in his need, a scared eagle is said to have dropped a fish at his feet.

After twelve years of hard labour as Prior of Lindisfarne, he felt the need of rest, and took refuge on the small island of Farne. Here he spent eight years in solitude, in a habitation surrounded by a mound so high that he could see nothing of the world but the heavens above.

The fame of his piety spread far and wide, and in 634 King Egfrid of Northumbria and Bishop Trumwine went to the island and entreated him to accept the bishopric of Hagulstas (Hexham), but it was not until the brethren had knelt and conjured him that he consented to leave his solitude and take upon himself the episcopal dignity. Preferring the older and more secluded community, and wishing to comply with the wishes of the brethren, he prevailed upon his friend Eata, then Bishop of Lindisfarne, to exchange positions with him. Eata went to Hexham, and Cuthbert became sixth Bishop of Lindisfarne.

He remained two years in his bishopric, and then returned to his island home, having, it is said, been told by an oracle that the day of his death was near. A promise was made to the monks of Lindisfarne that a signal of his departure should be given. The signal was a light placed where they could see it by looking out from their watch-tower. Shortly before his death a storm raged which prevented communication with the smaller island, but as it abated Herefrid, the Abbot of Lindisfarne, landed and was admitted to see the dying saint, and administered the Holy Eucharist.

As the small light gleamed out over the dark sea, and the watchman at Lindisfarne hastened with his tidings to the monks, they were chanting what might have seemed a dirge for Cuthbert (*Deus repulisti nos*), and the ancient Church which had battled for the spiritual head of Western Christendom.

Cuthbert wished to be buried in Farne, but at the entreaties of the brethren he consented that his body should be carried back to Lindisfarne. He was buried there in the Abbey of St. Peter and Paul, beside the bodies of the aforementioned bishops, in a shroud worked by the Abbess of Tynemouth. For generations pilgrimages have been made to his tomb.

In 875 Lindisfarne was attacked by the Danes, and Eardulph, Bishop at that time, and the brethren retreated to the mainland, carrying with them the remains of the saint. For seven years they were homeless, but at last found an asylum at Melrose. Here they were again pursued, and were compelled to carry their precious relics from place to place.

In 882 they were placed in the church of Chester-le-Street. In 900 they were removed to Ripon, on the threat of a Danish invasion, and from thence to Durham Cathedral, which had been dedicated to him. In 995, after more than a century of wanderings, they found a resting-place in the primæval woods of Durham, with the boughs only for his shrine, until a humble church was erected, which formed the nucleus of the present stately pile.

In 1069, when William the Conqueror was devastating Northumbria, the venerated remains were taken back to Lindisfarne, where, 381 years before, they had first been buried. When peace was restored they were again brought back to Durham, where they have rested undisturbed for more than eight centuries.

'Here, after many wanderings past,
He chose his lordly seat at last,
Where his cathedral, huge and vast,
Looks down upon the Wear.'*

A Latin manuscript transcribed and illuminated by Eadfrid (698-721) in memory of St. Cuthbert is in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, and is sacredly kept as one of their greatest literary treasures. Eadfrid was the first among English scholars who distinguished himself as a literary artist, transcriber and illuminator.

This manuscript was carried about by the monks of Lindisfarne as their greatest treasure, and when they fled before the Danes it was lost in the sea in their attempt to reach the coast of Ireland, and was washed ashore at Witherne and restored to its rightful owners. Eadfrid laid it as a grateful offering on the tomb of his dearest master, as a memorial of his goodness and greatness. The manuscript was afterwards enriched with a costly binding, decorated with silver, gold and precious stones.

* Scott.

Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row, London.

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